DOCUMENTARY EVIDENCE AND ITS POTENTIAL FOR UNDERSTANDING THE INLAND MOVEMENT OF MEDIEVAL POTTERY

Stephen Moorhouse
West Yorkshire Metropolitan County Council Archaeological Unit

Summary

Documentary evidence offers numerous suggestions for the understanding of the movement of pottery. Insights can be gained into pottery distributions by considering, for example, the location of medieval roads, towns, markets and fairs, and by studying manorial and episcopal accounts. As historical documents are open to many different interpretations, the key to understanding the significance of these pottery distributions must come from a close working relationship between archaeologists and historians.

The traditional method of identifying the distribution of archaeological finds is to plot on a map where they were found. Medieval pottery distribution maps have occurred in ever increasing numbers illustrating an equally wide range of information since they were first used by Gerald Dunning in the 1930's. Like many other early advances in the subject, E.M. Jope developed distribution maps to illustrate realistic patterns by showing groups of material where the subject of the map did not appear. This is seen nowhere better than in his now legendary distribution map of the Oxford-style jugs first produced in 1952 (Jope 1952, 75, fig. 11). It is a salutory reminder of Professor Jope's forward thinking that students are only now beginning to augment his work on presenting information on distribution maps. No matter how informative the content of a map is made, it can only show where the material was found, not how and why it reached its find spot. This is where documentary evidence can offer numerous suggestions, both in terms of direct references and a bewildering range of influences which produced channels of movement.

Medieval records were never created with the intention of helping future generations of historians to read past history from them. Their primary function was mostly to record a wide range of legal transactions, complimented by an equally wide range of domestic records and vernacular literature. It is from this mass of material from which written history has to be extracted, using sources for purposes for which they were never intended. However, a great deal of information can be learnt about the numerous influences which generated pottery to move around.

Settlement

Many estimates have been made as to the population of Britain during the Middle Ages and on the way it fluctuated (Hatcher 1977). Statistical information would create no problems today in determining modern population trends, but unfortunately this is not true of the Middle Ages. The often used tax returns are one of the best collective sources. Each tax covered different sections of the populace and even the most

detailed were subject to exemptions and often widescale evasions, and are probably far from accurate as an assessor of population. Perhaps the best sources are long runs of manorial court rolls, where almost everybody living within the jurisdiction of the court is likely to be recorded in its proceedings at least once during their life. The work of Professor Raftis and his Toronto students over the past twenty years (e.g. Raftis 1965; 1974; De Windt 1972) has pioneered the demography of vill communities from a detailed study of this most under-rated source of information. It will be many years before sufficient statistical information is available for national estimates.

The medieval landscape was almost wholly rural and agricultural in nature, interrupted by the occasional urban centre. The pattern and density of settlement was determined by whether pastoral or arable farming predominated, which in turn were governed by the natural inter-related elements of geography, geology, soil types and climate. Arable farming and nucleated settlements (villages) predominate in the fertile low lands while pastoral farming and dispersed settlements (farmsteads) are typical of the upland regions. In simplistic terms: in arable areas the fields were worked together and people tended to live together in villages; in areas of mainly animal husbandry people tended to work for themselves and live in isolation in small scattered communities. Hence while population numbers may be the same between such areas the number of settlements may be very different. In some regions a mixed settlement pattern of villages and farmsteads occurred, as in Bedfordshire and Essex.

Such variations are not distinguished in administrative records such as Domesday Book, poll tax returns and lay subsidies. They were concerned with recording wealth or income from individuals within a given territory - namely the vill (or township), not the individual settlements in which the people lived. The difficulty of the documents is seen nowhere better than in the graveship of Holme in the extensive manor of Wakefield in the eastern Pennines of modern West Yorkshire (Moorhouse 1970). Holme was an administrative division of the demesne land of the manor and was made up of seven constituent townships or vills covering an area of 27 square miles. Lying on the eastern Pennine foothills where pastoral farming predominated, the area contained at least 80 individual settlements by the early 14th century (Fig. 1), of which the sites of 62 have been identified. The area always occurs in medieval and later administrative records as Holme. The absence of a modern settlement of that name might have suggested a single deserted medieval settlement somewhere within the territory. In reality many of the 80 settlements which were in existence by the late 13th century still survive as farms today and the name of Holme was never applied to any of them, but always referred to the composite territory in which they lay.

The settlement pattern was never static. Changing social and economic conditions led to countrywide desertions during some periods, such as the emparking of land during the later Middle Ages. Many other factors drove people away from their home, some of which were regional (Dyer 1982a). While abandonment was taking place in some areas, expansion was happening in others, such as the new settlements created in the upland areas of the eastern Pennines during the late 15th century (Moorhouse 1979a, 47). Not only the numbers of settlements changed but also their pattern in some regions (Taylor 1983, 107-200). The relevance of regional pottery distributions
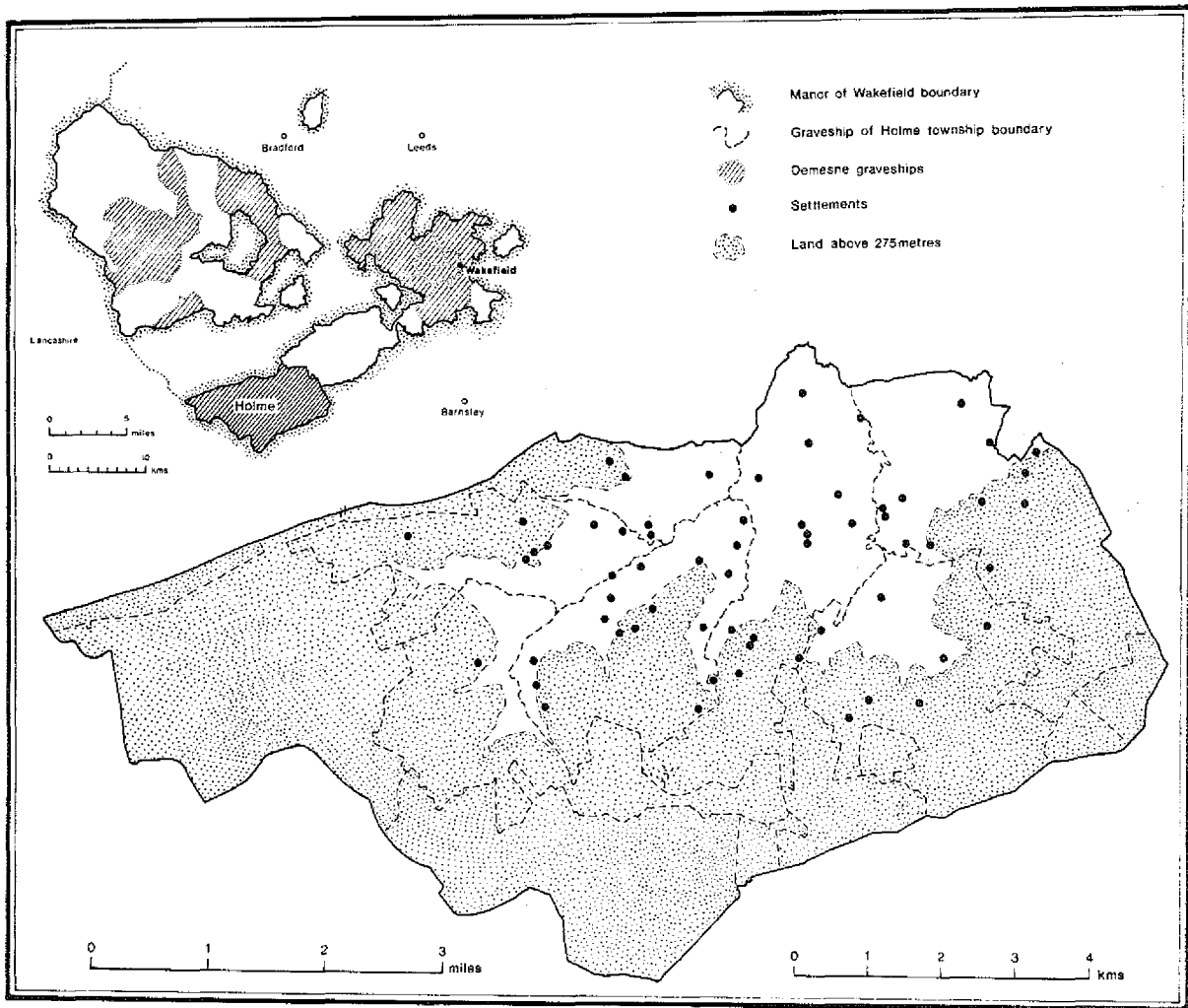
Fig. 1. Settlements within the graveship of Holme, seven constituent townships forming part of the manor of Wakefield in modern West Yorkshire. The territory and the settlements within it were known collectively as Holme from the 13th century onwards (based on Moorhouse 1979, 46 fig. 2; Moorhouse 1981a, figs. 25, 27).

can only be fully appreciated by an understanding of the settlement pattern and its development there.

Communication

Inland communication in medieval Britain took advantage of both road and river. The long distance movement of goods used a combination of land and water transport (Stenton 1937, 19-20; Pelham 1936, 260-5), the heavier the load the greater the use appears to have been made of boats, even if river movement meant a longer

journey. Organisations frequently sending goods over long distances often used the same land/water route and wherever possible this included the greatest use of the navigable rivers. The documentary evidence for the movement of pottery by water is very sparse, yet the archaeological evidence suggests that in some parts of the country the river system appears to have been a major channel of movement. The distribution of the West Cowick products extends westwards well into the Pennine valleys where, on some sites, Humber wares form a high proportion of types found, and they form the main stay of local products in medieval Hull to the east. Such long distance concentrations are likely to have occurred by shipment along the Aire/Calder/Don navigation system.

While the river system clearly played an important role in the movement of goods, the road system carried a much wider range of traffic. The influences which created roads were many and varied, and were not consistent throughout the country. The strictly local routes developed to serve the needs of the vill or township while the parish imposed its own influence on local routes in many areas (Moorhouse 1981a, 614-55). Against this local backcloth more widespread forces such as the organis- ation of manorial estates, monastic holdings and links between urban centres provided more distant routes. The traditional view of medieval roads as being dangerous, muddy and impassable, thereby restricing long distance travel, was changed by Professor Stenton's pioneering paper on the road system of medieval England (Stenton 1937). More recent work (Bland 1957; Hindle 1973; 1976; 1978; 1982; Martin 1976) has developed this view and shown that medieval roads were used extensively by a wide range of people over long distances all the year round. It was the medieval traveller (Jusserand 1920; Legarge 1983) who often provided the means by which pottery circulated. Complimentary to work on the road system in general a close study of minor place-names, field-names, private charters and court rolls has made it possible to identify the strictly local pattern of routes, such as those which criss-crossed the open field system, in some parts of the country (e.g. Moorhouse 1981a, 614-55). Christopher Taylor has shown the corresponding wealth of information for abandoned routes which still survive in the countryside (Taylor 1979, 84-152).

The medieval road system was never static. With some changes in the 16th century it has, however, remained substantially unaltered until recent times. The greatest changes occurred with the introduction of turnpike roads connecting rising industrial and commercial centres especially during the late 18th and early 19th centuries. This is seen nowhere better than in modern West Yorkshire (Thornes 1981, 42-50, fig. 29), where many of the roads created new routes, often linking places which had little contact during the Middle Ages. Leeds and Halifax, 20 miles apart, formed parts of separate manors during the Middle Ages and travelling from one to another could only be achieved by a long and circuitous route. The rise in status of both as cloth towns in the 18th century created the need for a direct route, the A58, in the 1830's, a road which is now one of the most important in the region, yet it did not exist 160 years ago. It is therefore unwise to base medieval distributions on modern map sources. Just as the turnpike era had a profound impact on the road system, so routes during the Middle Ages acquired a new status as commercial centres rose and waned throughout the period. Barry Harrison has demonstrated

that in central and north eastern Yorkshire the creation of new boroughs, markets, fairs and ports in the later 12th and 13th centuries created a shift in the importance of routes in the regions (Inf. from B. Harrison).

The few national maps created during the Middle Ages give the impression that the major routes were those most frequently used (Pelham 1933; Mitchell 1933; Pool and Gilson 1928; Hindle 1980). However, the mass of documentary evidence suggests that the minor routes were used equally for long distance journeys. A manuscript itinerary, prepared c. 1400-1405, guided visitors from Titchfield Abbey on the Solent to the other 30 Premonstratensian houses throughout the country mainly by secondary routes (Dickens 1938). Royal and episcopal inventories (see Fig. 11) and manorial and obedientiary accounts show that secondary routes were used wherever possible. The accounts of the warden's of Merton College (Oxford) for their journeys to Northumberland, on estate and parochial business, are typical (Martin 1976). Their regular route through the Midlands followed what must have been no more than country lanes even in the Middle Ages (see Fig. 7). During the 14th century they started their journeys with provisions, some of which could have been contained in earthen vessels. In essence the medieval traveller, like his counterpart today, would choose the shortest distance between two places.

Some routes developed as channels of commerce and administration within large lay, monastic and episcopal estates. Often estates lay scattered throughout the country. A typical example is the property of the influential Lacy family (Wightman 1966). A number of important manorial routes connecting their various northern estates are known. One particularly well documented route led from Clitheroe through Haworth, Bradford and Leeds to Pontefract, two towns 50 miles apart, yet both centres of adjoining extensive Lacy honours (Fig. 2). In the mid-14th century tenants within the manor of Bradford, mid-way along the route, provided carrying services for the Lord and his servants to Pontefract and the Lancashire property (Moorhouse 1981a, 626). The 1295/6 and 1304/5 accounts for Clitheroe suggest a constant flow of trade from the markets and fair at Pontefract to Clitheroe (Lyons 1884). The manorial importance of the route is shown by a mid-13th century charter describing land which lay adjacent to Kliderowgate, 'the road to Clitheroe', in Allerton, a township through which the route passed lying nearly 30 miles east of Clitheroe (Moorhouse 1981a, 626). This important route provided a link for many connections between northern Lancashire and southern Yorkshire, including the transmission of the Robin Hood legend (Holt 1983, 100-105). The route took in most of the minor demesne administrative centres within the honour of Pontefract. With all the trade and other traffic which passed between the two centres it is likely that the route caused pottery to travel if only to one of the many Lacy manorial residences in Yorkshire and Lancashire. Indeed, the road may explain the presence of the same type of decorated jug found on a manorial site at Gargrave (Moorhouse 1983a, 33, fig. 14 no. 10), 12 miles north-east of Clitheroe, and from Pontefract Castle (from excavations carried out by West Yorkshire Archaeology Unit), a jug type which appears to originate in the Clitheroe area (see Fig. 2). Routes connecting administrative centres on other types of dispersed estates are likely to have served as incidental arteries for pottery movement (see p.65 below).
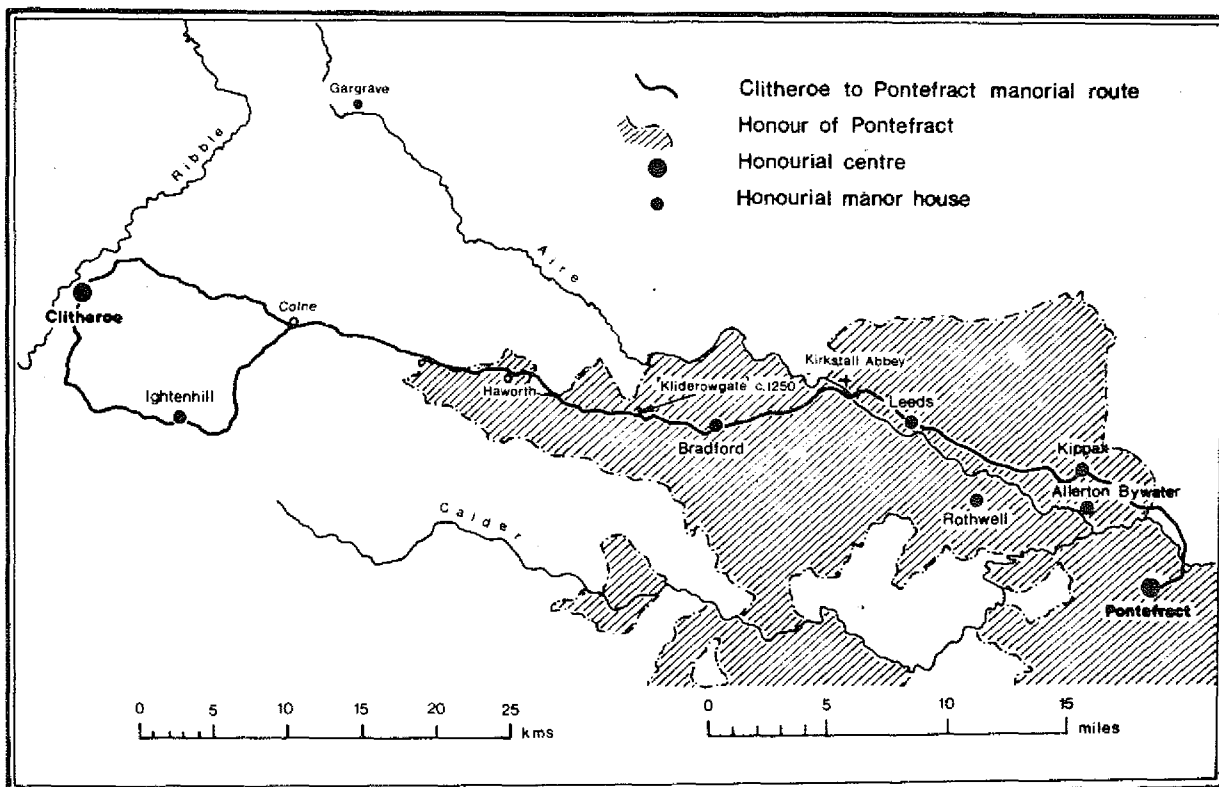
Fig. 2. Manorial route between Pontefract and Clitheroe, the centres
of two extensive adjoining honours held by the same family, the Lacy's.
The route, 50 miles long, formed an important link between the two
regions. Similar pottery vessels from Gargrave and Pontefract Castle
probably originate from the Clitheroe area, while vessels of West
Midlands origin found at Kirkstall Abbey may have reached the site
along the route.

The route between Pontefract and Clitheroe was typical of many, in that it did not
retain its importance throughout the Middle Ages. Its status declined in the later
Middle Ages when the unified Lacy estates were dispersed, and much of it has now
become minor roads, some even footpaths. The route was also circuitous, taking
in minor Lacy manor houses along the way. The fortunes of these fluctuated
throughout the medieval period

Towns

Towns, by their very nature of being the hub of a region and the centre of its commerce,
provided many opportunities for pottery to travel. The town and its surrounding
countryside were an entity: one drew on the resources of the other, acting as
mutual catalysts. The existence of an urban centre attracted commerce in the form
of markets and fairs, while in some cases their existence created a nucleus from
which the town developed. The development of towns varied according to national

and regional trends; while the fortunes of some were on the wane other centres, because of local conditions, continued to thrive (Bridbury 1981; Platt 1976; Reynolds 1977). Links between an urban centre and the outside world were not restricted to commerce alone. Town dwellers were often drawn from the surroundings while influential rural landowners from all backgrounds held town houses either as bases for trade or as 'weekend retreats'. An urban centre's potential influence on the movement of pottery therefore stretched beyond pure commerce. While no study of any one town is typical of the rest, the recent detailed demographic study of Godmanchester (Huntingdonshire) reflects general trends and contacts which a small rural town might have throughout the Middle Ages (Raftis 1982).

The inhabitants of towns provided their own influence on pottery concentrations. In creating a borough, burgesses were often drawn from the surrounding countryside, as seen in the origin of burgesses of Stratford upon Avon during the first half of the 13th century (Carus-Wilson 1965; Donkin 1973, 128, fig. 33). Some certainly maintained their rural family connections or property holdings. While this paper is concerned with the inland movement of pottery, the influence of the origin of people on the distribution of pottery is best seen in ports. The distribution of Scarborough-based merchants along the east coast may be a contributory factor in the distribution of Scarborough ware. The evidence from Southampton is more positive. The concentration of French imports in the French quarter of the town is very striking and is matched by their absence from recent excavations in the English part of Southampton (Inf. from R. G. Thompson).

Merchants within towns had both local and distant customers. A localised pattern of customers perhaps typical of the Middle Ages has been demonstrated for the debts owed to Worcester merchants in the 16th century (Dyer 1973; Platt 1976, 177, fig. 119). However, merchants built up more distant contacts (e.g. Jope 1952, 72). The records of the London Grocers' Company show that members of its various branches traded all over the British Isles. A pepperer who died in 1391 had bad debts owing him from customers in Shrewsbury, Hertford, Buckingham, King's Lynn and the Isle of White, while he was in debt to merchants in Hull, Winchester, Whaddon (Buckinghamshire) and Waterford (Ireland). The London mercers had an equally wide market for their goods. One typical mercer died with debtors in Salisbury, Shaftsbury, Glastonbury, St Albans, Dunstable, Buckingham, Coventry and Manchester (Thrupp 1933, 276-7). While London was the exception, merchants in other towns had very wide trading connections. The restrictions made by the Grocers and Mercers Companies on their members as to selling their goods at provincial markets or fairs helped to establish London as the major distributive centre for goods and supplies in the later Middle Ages. Surviving urban records show that the range of provincial grocers, from the chapman to the apothocary, obtained many of their wares in London during this period. The impression gained from the commercial and trading links between the original suppliers and the wide range of middlemen or retailers suggests that the roads and inland waterways must have been packed with goods travelling all over the country. It is not inconceivable that pottery, either as saleable items in their own right or as containers (see below), formed part of this traffic.

Medieval towns possessed the modern equivalents of high class residential, 'red light' and 'ghetto' areas. Craftsmen of one type would tend to work together and most craftsmen would tend to gather in one area of the town, a fact perpetuated in modern street names. While insufficient material is available from most medieval towns, some have produced large quantities of pottery which may reflect the social status and different functional areas. While there are many uncertainties and unknowns in assessing the status of urban communities (Langton 1975), a recent attempt in Exeter by John Allan has shown that pottery can reflect at a very general level the changing social and economic conditions within medieval towns (Allan 1984).

Although this paper deals with the inland movement of pottery, ports have to be mentioned, for not only were they the principal means of exporting goods overseas but they also had a very large catchment area for the goods which passed through them, either leaving or entering the country. The ports of the Wash drew on a wide area of the eastern Midlands (Carus-Wilson 1962-3; Fig. 4), Bristol's share of trade
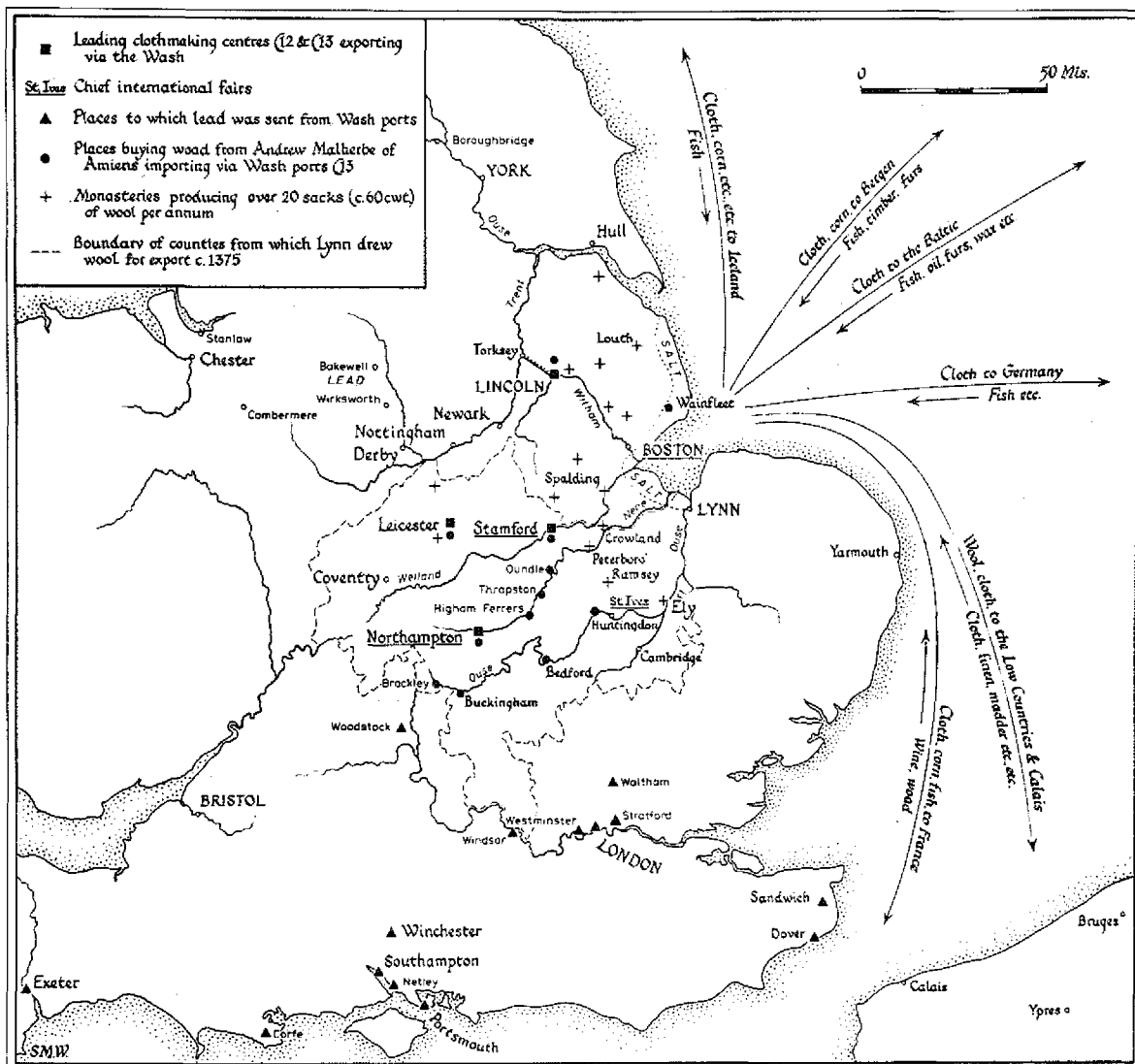

Fig. 4. Medieval ports of the Wash and some of their catchment areas. Apart from obvious commercial contacts the customers and tradesmen at the markets and fairs would be drawn from a very wide area (from Carus-Wilson 1962-3, fig. 68).

covered the western Midlands (Carus-Wilson 1967, 6) and Southampton's inland trade reached as far north as Leicester and Exeter to the west (Platt 1976, 78, fig. 59). These patterns of trade are drawn from specific documents and reflect only a glimpse of a constantly changing picture. Professor Platt identified Southampton's inland connections from the unique mid-15th century brokage books. While references to pottery leaving Southampton are rare, as might be expected, a few tantalising references are given. The 1439/40 accounts show that 'a little mawnde' of painted Geonoa pots went to Salisbury, 9 <u>caly potts</u> for the use of the Abbot of Cirencester and two cases of 'painted pots' travelled to London (Bunyard 1941, 56, 85, 164). Well-documented inland trade routes from major ports might be expected to leave a trail of exotic imported pottery along their paths. Winchester, Oxford and Coventry lay on important routes from south and west coast ports but imported pottery is extremely rare there, despite the considerable amount of excavation which has taken place in all three towns. Such anomalies have to be explained by future work.

Towns, markets and fairs, because of specialised commodities might attract people from much greater distances than is usual. The important salt deposits of the Cheshire wiches have been exploited since Roman times. Routes used by dealers in the Middle Ages fanned out from the salt centres and covered northern and central England (Crump 1939). While the documentary evidence for the control of the industry and its development is plentiful, little survives for the trading of the salt (Berry 1958; Bridbury 1955). The work carried out on the Droitwich industry (Berry 1955, 91-119, Appendix 1; Berry 1958; Berry 1975, 79, Fig. 49) shows that its salt had a wide market (Fig. 5). Recent excavations on salt workings in Middlewich have produced a large quantity of pottery, a substantial part of which is not local and comes from as far away as the vale of York and Surrey. The pottery possibly reached the town as a direct result of the salt trade.

Markets and fairs

The market and fair had very different functions (Salzman 1931, 121-60). The market provided basic foodstuffs and essentials, was held usually weekly for one day only and were generally densely scattered. Fairs on the other hand were more regional, sold more exotic goods, were held normally once a year and lasted for a number of consecutive days, or in some instances weeks. There were two levels of fair; the regional ones and the small handful of international fairs sited in central southern England. These cosmopolitan fairs included those at Boston (Lincolnshire), St Ives (Huntingdonshire), Stourbridge (Cambridgeshire) and Winchester (Hampshire). They attracted merchants from the continental mainland and customers from all over the British Isles.

The local market provided the everyday essentials for the rank and file of the population. That pottery was frequently sold at markets is attested by town or market ordinances listing pottery amongst the tolls imposed on commodities sold there (Le Patourel 1968, 119). While there is no documentary evidence it seems likely that the ordinary people bought their pottery at the market. Occasionally the written evidence is illuminating. For example, we know that the sellers of earthen-ware in the market at Oxford shared a stall with the charcoal sellers in the centre
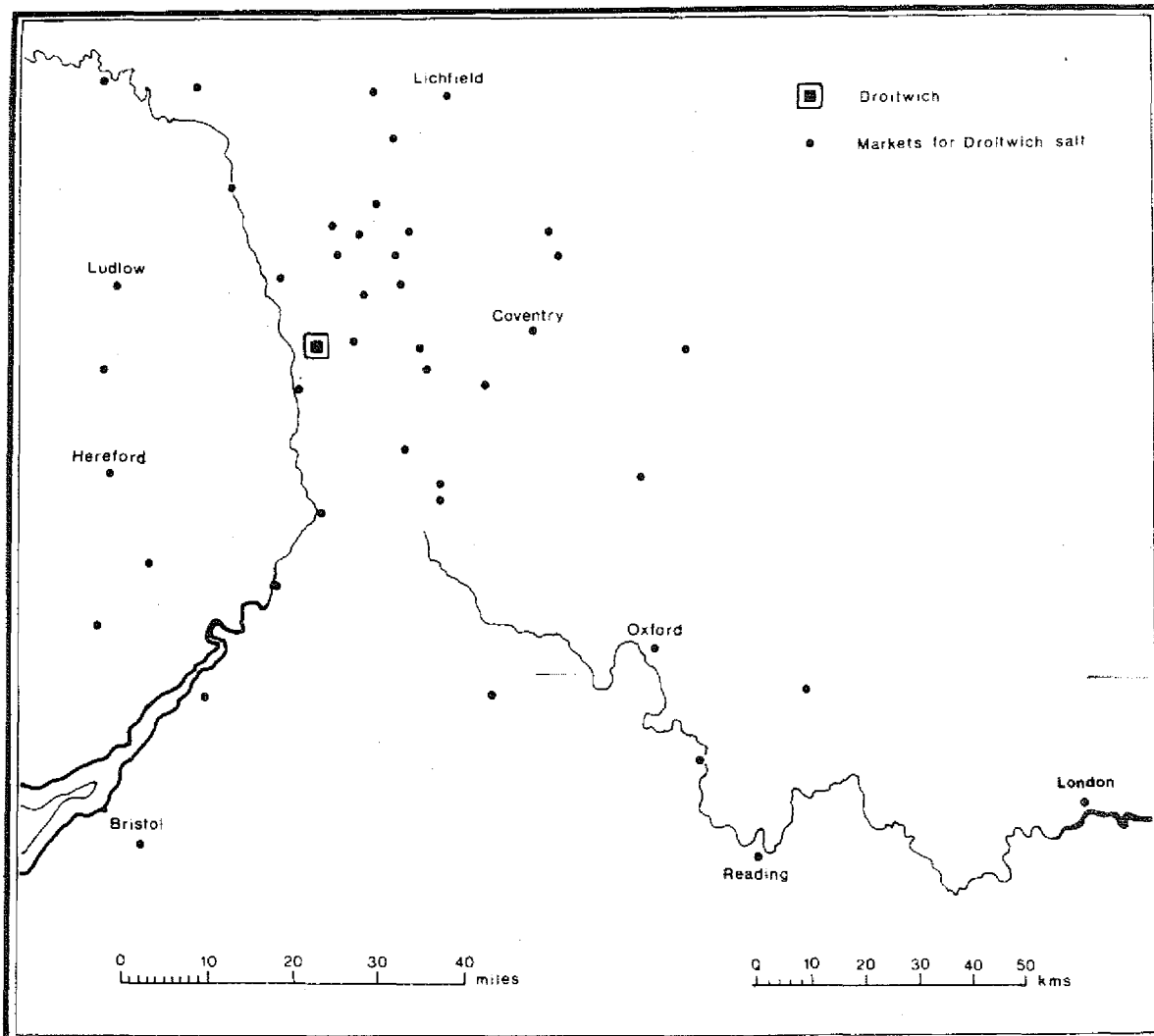
Fig. 5. Places where Droitwich salt was sold during the Middle Ages
(based on Berry 1955, ch. 5, appendix 1; Berry 1975, 79 fig. 49).

of the High Street during the 14th century (Salzman 1923, map on 327; Ogle 1890:
14). The great profusion of markets stems from jealously sought after revenues by
landlords, coupled with supply and demand within a locality. The great 13th century
lawyer John Bracton recorded that markets should be no less than $6\frac{2}{3}$ miles apart.
That this ruling was not adhered to is shown by the numerous studies which have
been made of medieval markets on a county basis, for example the Derbyshire
markets (Coates 1965).

While some customers travelled long distance for supplies, stall holders in local rural
markets are known to have travelled equally long distances to sell their wares. The
court proceedings of the market held at Newmarket (Suffolk) between 1399 and 1413
(May 1981) show that while most of the traders came from a 12 mile radius of the
town (Fig. 6) at least 20 others came from places as far away as King's Lynn
(35 miles), Banbury (75 miles) and Grantham (65 miles). The short run of court
proceedings produced no evidence for potters, but Mrs Le Patourel has drawn
attention to the Toynton All Saints (Lincolnshire) potters who sent cartloads of pots
to Spalding and Whaplode, over 30 miles to the south, and they even retained a store
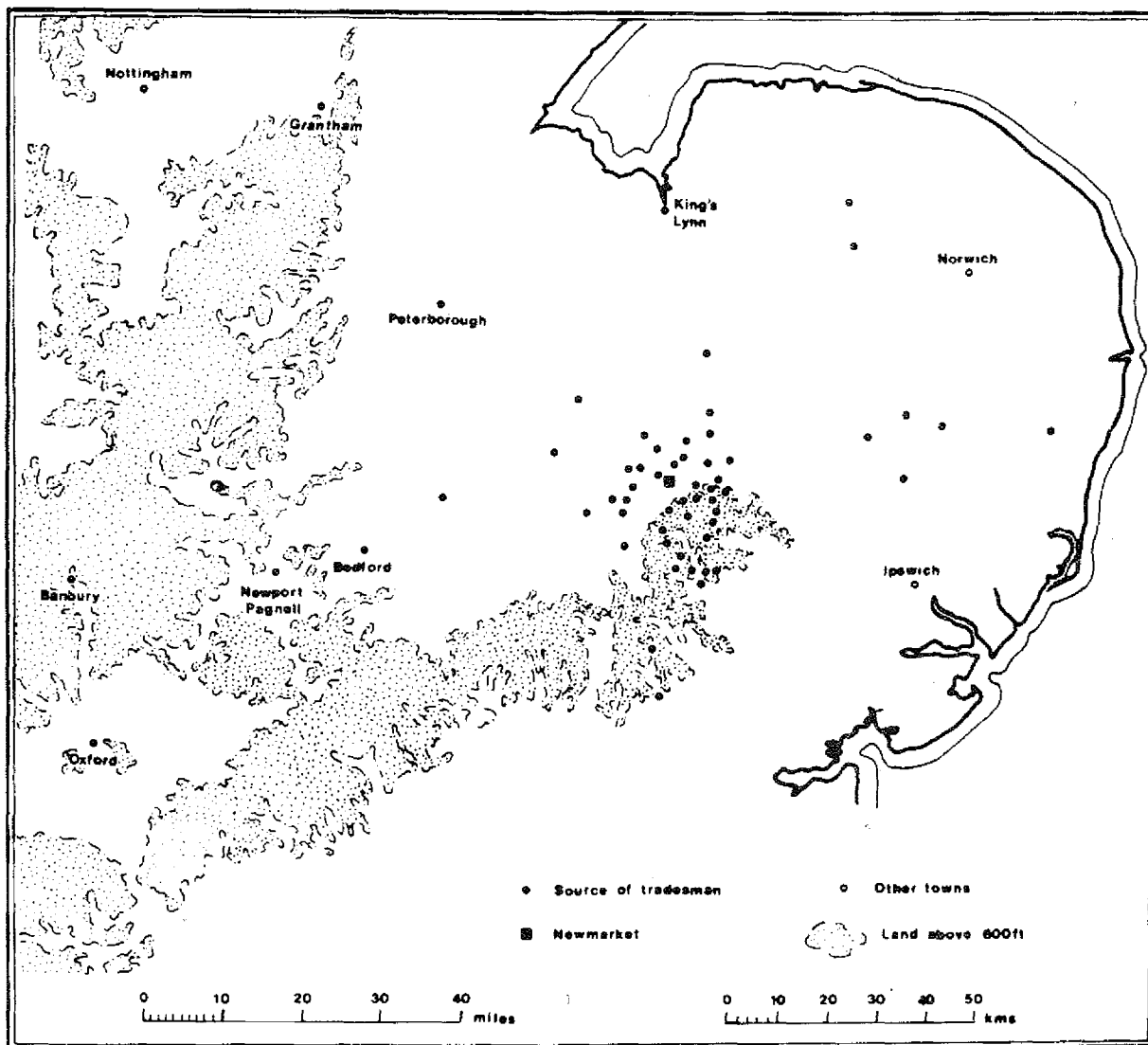of pots at Spalding for future sale (Le Patourel 1968, 119). While the documents are

56

Fig. 6. Stall-holders attending Newmarket market 1399-1413, based
on the tradesmen mentioned in the court rolls for the period (based on
May 1981, fig. 1).

far from satisfactory for determining patterns of trade, they do show that both
tradesmen and customers alike would travel considerable distances and not restrict
themselves to the local market or fair.

Markets would attract local custom, regional fairs more distant customers, but
the large international fairs would act as magnets for traders and buyers from all
over Europe. People would travel the length and breadth of the country to buy up
supplies and provisions. There are many entries in accounts to the purchase of
goods at one or more of these important fairs. The accounts of William Wickwane,
Archbishop of York (1279-1285), record a number of visits to the fairs at St Ives
and Boston, including the sum of 180 marks spent on unspecified provisions bought
by his butler at Boston Fair on 22 July 1283 (Brown 1907, 324, 327-9). Monastic
houses and other institutions held or acquired the right to stay in premises for the
benefit of attending these fairs. In 1325/6 an agreement was made between Jervaulx

Abbey and Sawley Abbey, two houses in the north-western Pennines, which gave Sawley monks the use of a room, stable and a kitchen for up to 15 days during the duration of St Botolph's Fair in Boston (Donkin 1959, 111-12). Similarly, Furness Abbey (Cumbria) held property in Boston specifically for attending the fair (Ibid.).

Because markets were more numerous than fairs during the Middle Ages, their distribution is more likely to reflect population densities. Population density and its structure were based on the pattern of farming, which in turn rested on geography. This close association between topography, markets and population is clearly seen in the distribution of markets in Derbyshire (Donkin 1973, 117, fig. 29; Coates 1965: fig. 12).

The number of markets and fairs fluctuated during the Middle Ages through a variety of influences and pressures (see e.g. Britnell 1978; 1981). Although most are likely to have produced records, if only through their court proceedings, very few of these have survived (May 1981, 31). One of the few means of determining their regional growth patterns is through the royal licenses granted. The period of greatest expansion in terms of numbers appears to have been between about 1200 and 1350 (Britnell 1981). Those for Suffolk are perhaps typical of the trend: before 1100 12 markets are recorded, licenses for 74 were granted between 1100 and 1350 and after 1350 only 6 were created (Platt 1976, 24, fig. 4).

Tenurial influences

The structure of manorial estates and their management probably had a much greater influence on the movement of pottery than is at present appreciated. Few manorial estates were single composite units of land but were often dispersed not only throughout a region but across the country and beyond. Such widespread distributions were not limited to the wealthier seignourial or magnates classes. Even the lowly baronial family could have estates scattered throughout a number of counties in different parts of the country. Such a family were the Cleres who held property in Hampshire, Lincolnshire, Norfolk, Surrey, Sussex and Yorkshire (Clay 1975). In some regions connections between areas were shared by a number of families, such as the links between Lincolnshire and Yorkshire held by a number of families (Clay 1960). The wide distribution of dispersed estates was not restricted to the conventional rural lay landowner. Ecclesiastical, college and monastic institutions held equally large scattered properties. Figure 7 shows the distribution of property held by Merton College, Oxford.

Certainly the larger estates, no matter how dispersed, would be managed as one economic unit. While each component group of vills might be administered together they would be co-ordinated by officers at the head of the estate. Administrative overseeing ranged from supervising the court leet to the twice yearly audit. There would therefore be a constant toing and froing of manorial officials. The larger and more dispersed the estate the greater the opportunity for pottery to travel.

Despite the striving for self-sufficiency a manorial estate could never be self-supporting in the produce which it grew, or in the craftsmen which serviced it
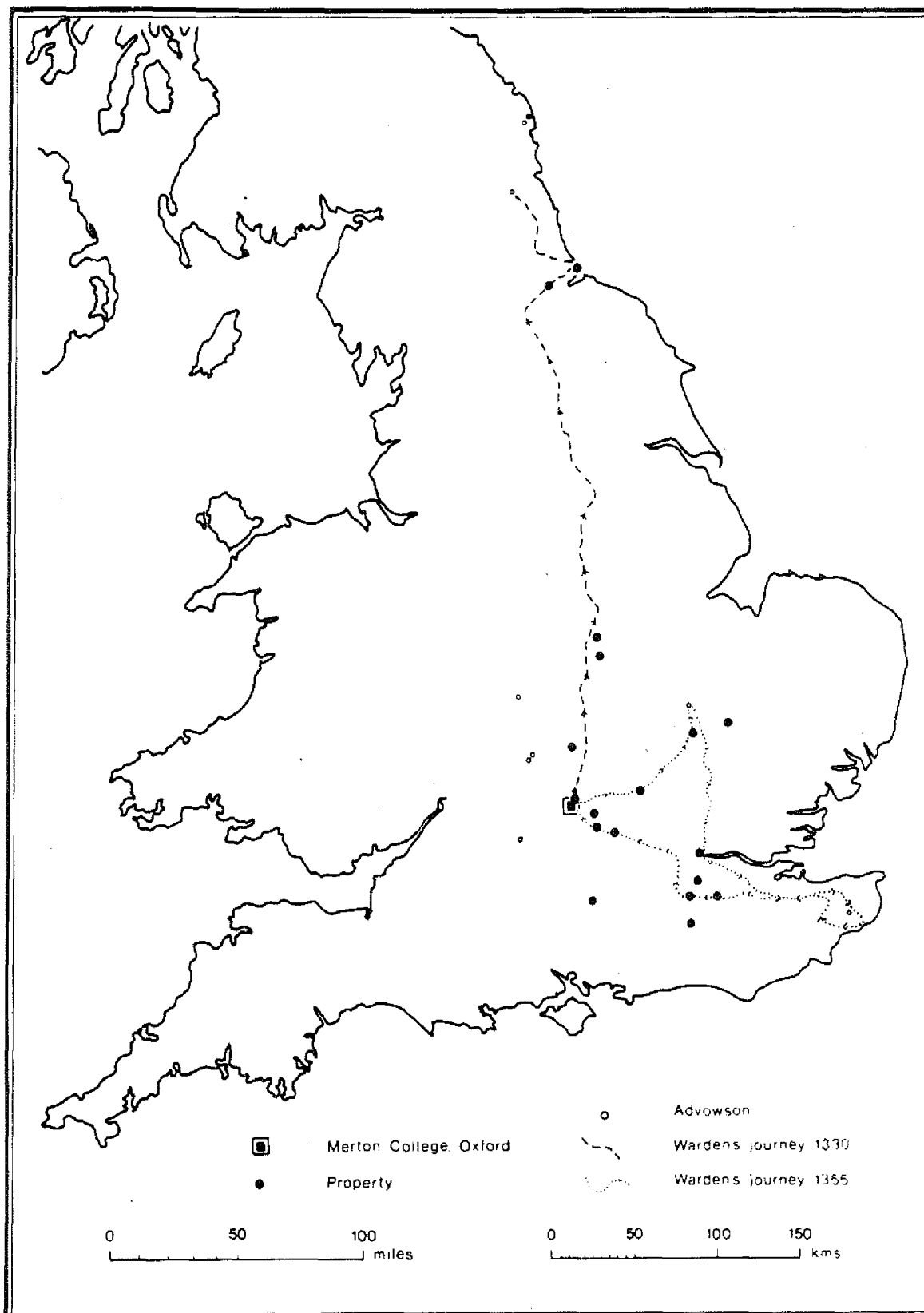
Fig. 7. Property and advowsons held by Merton College in the early
14th century, and journeys of the Warden in 1330 and 1355 (based on
Harvey 1965, frontispiece map; Martin 1976, 168, 170).

(Lennard 1938). This would be particularly true of large dispersed estates where each part may concentrate on one aspect of the estate economy. Here contacts would not only reach out from the individual vill but there would be interaction between the estate components. The long distance visits of the wardens of Merton College, Oxford, to their Durham and Northumberland property have already been mentioned, but the hive of activity and movement on part of a manorial estate is perhaps best seen on another of Merton's holdings, the vill of Cuxham (Oxfordshire), whose manorial records have received a detailed and unique study by Professor Harvey (Harvey 1965; Harvey 1974). The records paint a vivid picture of the hustle and bustle of manorial life and, like many other manorial records, shows that a community was dependent on the outside world (Harvey 1965, 87-112). A wide range of officers were frequently passing through Cuxham on their way to other parts of the estate. Non-manorial visitors occasionally passed through and were given overnight accommodation. College inmates from Oxford were sent to Cuxham to recuperate from illness or escape the plague. Like other manors in the estate, the reeve of Cuxham annually delivered to the college in Oxford the produce from the vill. The vill drew on a wide range of sources for its hay, stone and wood, wood coming from as far away as Woodstock, 20 miles to the north-west (Fig. 8). Craftsmen were
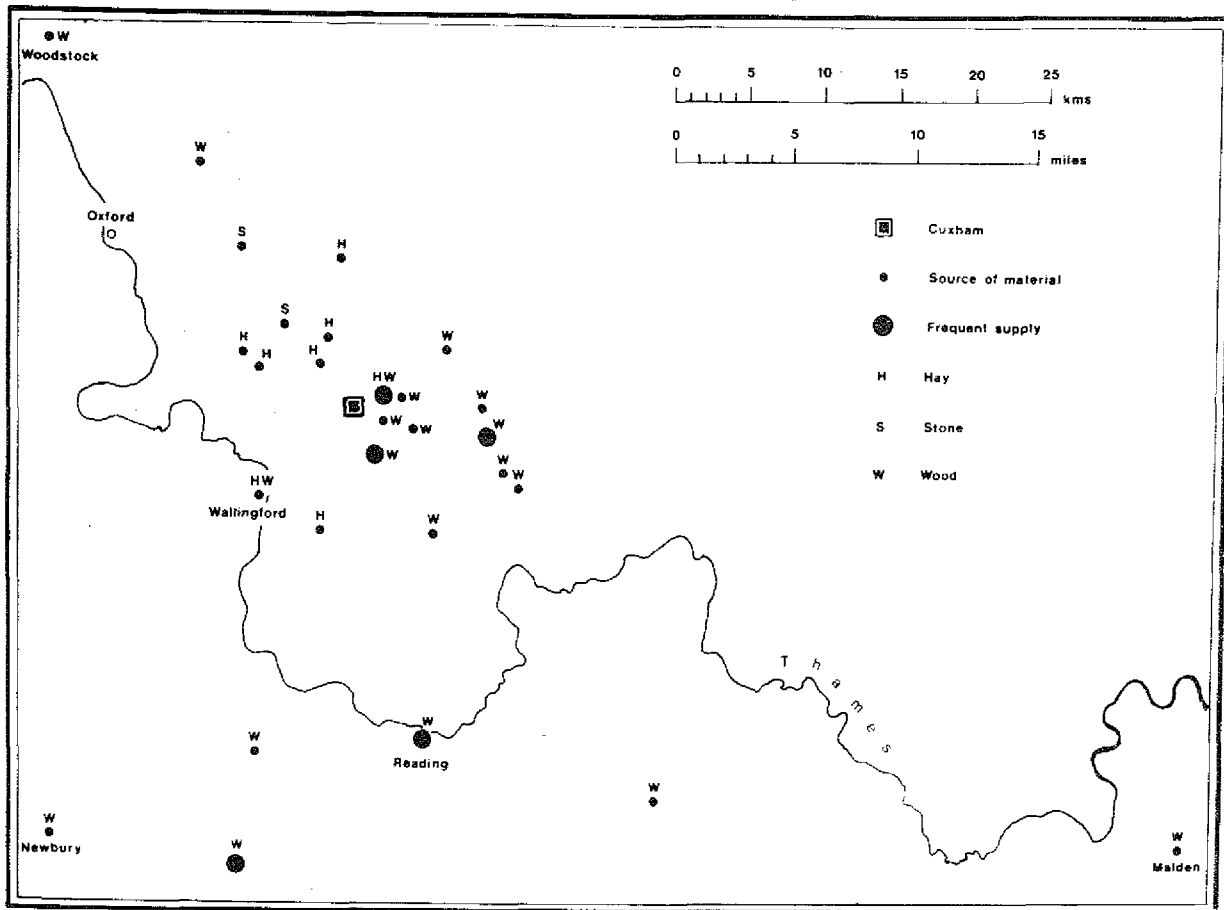

Fig. 8. Demesne sources of hay, stone and wood used at Cuxham (Oxfordshire), 1276-1359. One of many regionally varying examples of how the manor relied on the outside world for basic day to day items such as wood, with all the potential that that created for pottery to travel (based on Harvey 1965, map 1).

occasionally drafted in from other parts of the estate to carry out work. There was the usual contact with outside merchants for household and farming supplies. There was very close contact with neighbouring vills in the estate. As on many other manors carts were occasionally seconded for service with the King. While some of the events are peculiar to the college property, like the visiting students, much of what went on at Cuxham is typical of almost any other vill which formed part of a large conglomerate estate, providing many opportunities for pottery to move around.

The opportunity for pottery to travel long distances was even greater on the dispersed estates of powerful magnates. Excavations at Sandal Castle (West Yorkshire) produced pottery from different areas of the south of England (Moorhouse 1983b, 127, 129-30). Sandal formed the administrative centre of the extensive manor of Wakefield in modern West Yorkshire, which in turn formed part of the countrywide estates of the powerful Warenne family (Fig. 9). It can be demonstrated that some of the non-local pottery at Sandal reached the site through inter-estate activity: at least 6 vessels of Grimston ware from the Norfolk and Cambridgeshire holdings; 2 vessels of West Sussex ware from their Sussex property; numerous vessels from southern Yorkshire probably reached Sandal through contact with the honour of Conisborough; a link which may also explain the large number of Hallgate (Doncaster) products (Fig. 9). The sources of many other non-local vessels at Sandal still have to be identified. Other fineware types, such as one vessel from the Reading/Newbury area may have reached Sandal in travelling northwards from the Warenne's Sussex or Surrey property. As in large commercial companies today, personnel on large estates were moved around, particularly amongst the senior officers. Surnames of manorial officers on the Yorkshire property show that many came from elsewhere on the Warenne estates. During the 13th century, four chief stewards came from Norfolk, while four others were not from Yorkshire but whose origins are uncertain (Clay 1949, 244-50). Two constables of Conisborough came respectively from the Warenne estates in Norfolk and Warwickshire (Ibid., 250), and 12th century constables of Wakefield and Sandal came from Warenne property in Sussex and Cambridgeshire (Ibid., 68, 73, 251). An early 14th century steward of the manor of Wakefield came from the Warenne sub-manor of Wing in Buckinghamshire, a contact which the de la Weld family maintained after their move to Yorkshire (Moorhouse 1981c, 111). It is probably this connection which explains the vessel of Oxfordshire-type found at Sandal. Movement was not restricted to the officers. Surnames of the minor tenants show that by the end of the 13th century people had migrated to the manor of Wakefield from Warenne property in Surrey, Sussex, Norfolk, Cambridgeshire and Wales (Ibid., 111-12). The same tenurial links have helped to explain vessels from the western Midlands on a few sites in West Yorkshire. The sites lay on demesne land of the honour of Pontefract, owned by the powerful Lacy family who also held extensive property in the western Midlands (Wightman 1966). Significantly most of the vessels are tripod pitchers and were found on sites which ceased to be demesne land c. 1200, thereby eliminating any future contact with the rest of the Lacy's countrywide estate (Moorhouse 1983b, 130).

Tenure can be an important factor in pottery circulation right down the social scale. Minor tenants sometimes held property many miles apart. In many cases these were mainly financial investments, such as the interest of the Hazlewood family in
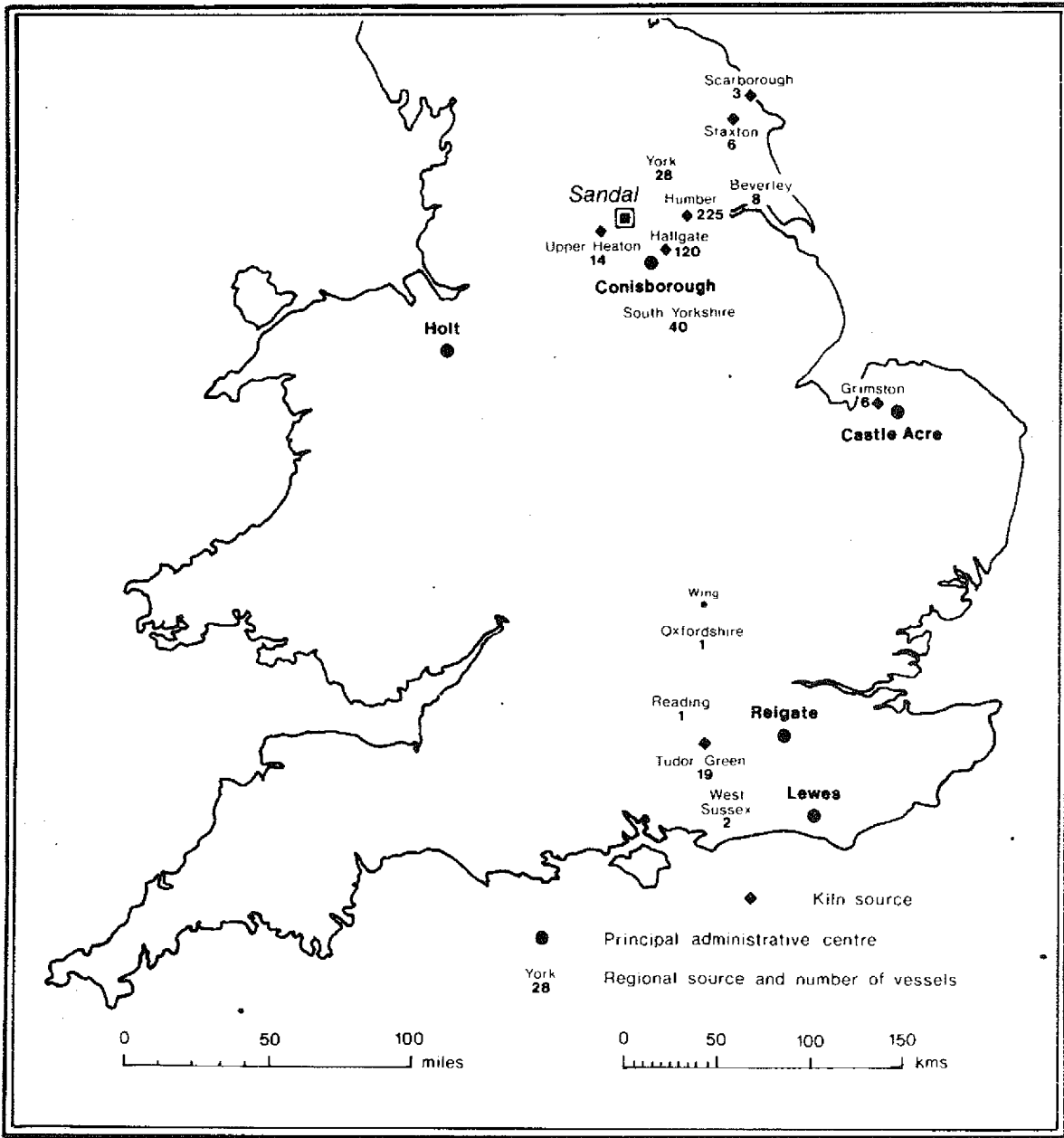
Fig. 9. Distribution of the principal centres of the extensive
countrywide estate of the Warrene family, showing identifiable
sources of the non-local pottery found at Sandal Castle (West
Yorkshire), head of the large manor of Wakefield. Many more
non-local products still await identification. Much of the non-
local pottery probably reached the site through the distribution of
the Warenne property. The Oxfordshire piece probably owes its
existence at Sandal to a member of the de la Weld family who held
property at Wing, whose contact with Sandal was through Henry de
la Weld, a steward of the manor of Wakefield in the early 14th century.

Rawdon (West Yorkshire), two townships 15 miles apart (Mitchelmore 1981a, 486).
In others the links were more permanent. Such an association was created between
Hawksworth in modern West Yorkshire and Cowlam, over 50 miles away on the Wolds
of eastern Yorkshire. The landlord and tenants in one township held property in the
other, and a number of 13th and 14th century charters survive where the witnesses
are drawn from the neighbourhood of both townships. For example, a deed drawn
up at York on 1st August 1294 concerning land in Hawksworth was witnessed by people
with the surnames Cowlam, Thorpe, Wilberfoss, Bubwith, Gildhusdale and Howden
(Price 1955, 89 no. 243), all vills or settlements in or around Cowlam. Links
between the two areas were strengthened by the marriage of Gerard de Collume to
Susanna, daughter of Simon de Monte Alta II, Lord of East Keswick (a township to
the east of Hawksworth) in the early 13th century (Lancaster and Baildon 1904: 27
note 1), and by the marriage later in the century of Walter son of Walter de
Hawkesworth to Elisabeth de Collome (Clay 1924, 47 no. 168). The documents
suggest that there were strong links between the areas around Hawksworth and Cowlam
throughout the 13th and 14th centuries. Indeed, late 16th century rentals show that
interests in Cowlam were still maintained (Yorkshire Archaeol Soc , MD 130/12b;
MS 527). As there was inter-marriage between the two areas it is likely that house-
holds exchanged visits thus providing a vehicle for pottery to travel between the two
regions.

The documents suggest the tenants travelled often long distance to visit their
landlord on estate business. Occasionally attendant households are recorded.
The day book of Lady Alice de Breyne for 1412/13 shows that Morgan Gough, one
of Sir Guy de Breyne's Dorset tenants, visited Acton in southern Suffolk with his
chaplain and two members of his household for five days in November 1412 (Dale
and Redstone 1931, iii, 16-17; see Fig. 13). Although the reason for the visit
is not recorded, it was likely to be estate business. The same accounts record
a visit from two priests and a servant from Slapton, near Dartmough in Devon,
where the father of Lady Alice's late husband was buried (Ibid., i, 68). Such
tenurially linked visits may have generated pottery movement in household baggage.

Pottery is frequently found during the excavation of manorial and similar complexes
which does not come from the immediate area. Recent excavations in the moat of
Speke Hall, near Liverpool, produced two vessels from the Surrey kilns dated
respectively to the 15th and 16th centuries. It is likely that such non-local vessels
are the product of some aspect of manorialism, either through the management and
administration of dispersed estates or visiting guests. Documentary evidence may
provide the answer.

Large blocks of territory under a single landlord could be organised from a number
of regional administrative centres. The fortunes of these fluctuated along with
those of the estate in general. A number of examples from within the extensive
honour of Pontefract, straddling modern West Yorkshire and North Yorkshire in
central northern England, illustrate this variability. A number of demesne townships
lying around the administrative centre in Almondbury township were sub-infeudated
c. 1200 (Mitchelmore 1981a, 255, 302). Almondbury's role as a demesne centre
was drastically reduced and any contact, through manorial officials or Lacy house-
holds, with the rest of the Lacy countrywide estates was broken. Significantly the

only non-local pottery from excavations on Castle Hill, Almondbury, is of 12th century date and includes a tripod pitcher from the region of the Lacy holdings in the west Midlands (Moorhouse 1983b, 130). Similarly excavations at Hillam Burchard, a deserted medieval settlement 10 miles east of Leeds, produced a west Midlands type tripod pitcher from a site which formed part of Lacy demesne property until it was sub-infeudated in the early 13th century (Ibid.). Extents and manorial accounts can reveal the development of manor house complexes. The changing role of those in the western part of the honour of Pontefract (Fig. 2) is typical. We have already seen the effect that sub-infeudation had on the centre in Almondbury township: the site later developed as a planted borough which failed during the later Middle Ages (Moorhouse 1981a, 737-8). The 1341 extent of the honour shows that the manor houses in Allerton Bywater, Bradford, Kippax and Leeds (Fig. 2) were either run down or in ruins and that Rothwell was the principal administrative centre (Ibid.: 599, 735-6), yet a little over a century later Rothwell was in ruins and was leased out (Mitchelmore 1981a, 488). Barwick in Elmet was the administrative centre of the North Part of the honour (not shown on Fig. 2, but see Moorhouse 1981a. map 25). The substantial earthworks there suggest that, at some time shortly after the Conquest, Barwick played an important role in the administration of the honour. The 1341 extent suggests that this eminence had passed by the mid 14th century (Moorhouse 1981a, 735). During the 14th century Ightenhill in the adjoining Lacy held honour of Clitheroe (Fig. 2) rose to prominence as the principal administrative centre of the honour (Holt 1983, 102, 104).

In many cases it was economic necessity to reduce the number of manor houses on large estates. In some cases it was a conscious policy decision prompted by estate reorganisation. It may even be no more than a preference of a new landlord to develop one centre and allow other houses to fall into decay. The manorial influence on pottery movement was not only a potent but also an extremely variable force and because one estate centre is recorded as being prominent in one set of documents at a given date it cannot be assumed that this was the case throughout the Middle Ages. Indeed the reverse will almost certainly be true.

The minor tenantry are likely to have been the cause of occasional vessels being found outside their normal area of circulation. Mention has already been made of the many contacts with the outside world which the lower classes had outside their normal daily duties. Some of these were formalised as manorial services attached to certain land holdings. In some cases they were obligatory on all villein tenants within a vill. These services were common over most of the country. Apart from agricultural services, perhaps the most numerous were the various carrying services. They covered a wide range of duties often over long distances, bringing the peasant into contact with places some distance from where they lived (Bennett 1937, 109-10; Holmes 1941, 257-8). In the early 14th century, tenants of the honour of Pontefract in the manor of Bradford (West Yorkshire) had to accompany the Lord on hunting trips to Blackburnshire on the other side of the Pennines, as well as provide vituals and a horse (see Fig. 2). Another tenant had to accompany the steward from Bradford to Pontefract, 20 miles to the south-east (Moorhouse 1981a, 626). The early 14th century extent of Otley, held by the Archbishop of York, records that one tenant should carry letters to York, Cawood, Sherburn in Elmet

and Ripon, all episcopal palaces of the Archbishop. Another tenant had to accompany the Lord's bailiff to Skipton, 20 miles to the west, and Bradford, 12 miles south, to attend the market and fair and drive back any cattle which had been bought (Ibid.). On larger estates the provisioning of manor houses in advance of household visits was met by carrying services. This was certainly the case on the estates of the Bishop of Durham and those of Battle Abbey (Bennett 1937, 109). While the peasants would not be personally responsible for any pottery which may have travelled, they provided a means for it to occur through the many places which they journeyed on manorial business.

While it will often be impossible to identify one particular cause for pottery being found outside its main area of circulation, the manorial estate and the way in which it was managed and administered created many opportunities for the occasional pottery vessel to move around. The excavation of most manorial complexes is likely to produce one or even many vessels not made in the immediate area of the site. An examination of the estate of which that site formed part, and its development, may, as at Sandal, help to explain why vessels are moving from one end of the country to the other.

Monastic influence

Monastic influences on the movement of pottery were potentially much greater than those of the manorial system as operated by lay landlords. Because of the way in which monastic estates were acquired, in piecemeal fashion, they tended to be discrete blocks of land centred around the mother house. Even the bulk of the estate of the greatest Cistercian house in the country, Fountains Abbey, was focused around the Abbey (Mitchelmore 1981, map facing 313). Most houses had principal holdings detached from the main block of property, as was the case with the lands of Abingdon Abbey (Bond 1979, 61, fig. 1) and Bolton Priory (Kershaw 1973, frontispiece map).

Like the lay stock and dairy farms of the larger estates, most houses of the non-preaching orders were supported by granges or monastic farms. These were organised very efficiently and provided the mother house with its daily consumables as well as being strict commercial ventures. Some houses possessed granges many miles from the church site, often for the extraction of minerals. The abbey's of Fountains, Rievaulx, Byland and Selby each had twin granges on the coal measures of modern West Yorkshire specifically to exploit the iron ore (Moorhouse 1981a, 791-3). Dr Donkin has shown the close inter-relationship between mother house, its estate and granges (Donkin 1964). The grange was an essential part of the monastic economic machine and as such there would be close contact with the mother house no matter how great the distance between them.

The creation of grange estates often led to the reorganisation of the landscape within its boundaries, and in particular the road pattern. This restructuring can be seen through the numerous individual pieces of land which eventually created the large composite Fountain's grange of Bradley in modern West Yorkshire (Lancaster 1915, 121-59, nos. 1-66), where the road pattern appears to have been re-planned to meet

the requirement of the monks. The road system to the west of Leeds owes its origin to the routes which led from Kirkstall Abbey to the numerous granges surrounding the abbey. Occasionally the origin of these new roads can be determined accurately. Two new roads, described in great detail, were granted to the Augustinian priory of Nostell in 1311, leading from the canon's precinct to one of the priory's granges in Thurnscoe township 8 miles to the south. One of the routes still survives as the present B6273 and B6422 (British Library, Cott Vesp E xix, fo. 23v; Moorhouse 1981a, 629).

As the Middle Ages progressed the function of granges changed. Because of social and economic pressures many granges became uneconomical to run and were leased out from the 14th century onwards, some even becoming divided and let out to different tenants. Thus any link with the mother house might be broken. In some cases the reverse took place. Tenants on the Fountain's Abbey estate who had charge of either cattle or sheep and their produce had to pay their dues at the annual audit. This was held before Christmas outside the West Gate of the Abbey. Evidence suggests that this gathering was a major social event, with people bringing their belongings to combine the annual audit with Christmas festivities (Mitchelmore 1981b, xlix-1).

The structure of some monastic orders required close contact not only between secondary foundations but also between these and the original house. Cistercian abbots were required to visit Citeaux regularly. Contact between mother house and satalite daughter foundations was strong during the early years of settlement. It may be through this association that a vessel of Winksley-type came to Kirkstall Abbey; Kirkstall was a daughter house once removed from Fountain's Abbey, which lies 3 miles south of the Winksley kiln site. There were numerous administrative and religious observances peculiar to the monastic orders which required travelling between houses, often with attendant officers or households. It is likely that these were responsible for some movement of pottery.

Most monastic houses had a constant stream of visitors passing through them, either on business or as a break in a long journey. To accommodate them many houses possessed a self-contained guest house complex (Gilyard-Beer 1976, 38-40). These were microcosms of a manorial site; containing everything from domestic accommodation to gardens, frequently set within its own secluded precinct wall. Most visiting dignitaries would stop there with their households. It is therefore likely that the excavation of a monastic guest house should provide a higher percentage of non-local wares than found elsewhere on the site. The excavation of the Guest House at Kirkstall Abbey (by West Yorkshire MCC Archaeology Unit), not an important house by any standards, has produced a very wide range of non-local wares. Most come from the south of England (Fig. 10) from areas of the country where the abbey did not hold any land. Surprisingly there are over 30 coarseware vessels of west Midlands origin. It is possible that they owe their existence at Kirkstall to visiting households of the Lacy family, who founded the abbey and had extensive property in the West Midlands and in Yorkshire. The important manorial route between the two Lacy centres of Pontefract and Clitheroe crossed the River Aire half a mile below the Abbey (Fig. 2). Only a small percentage of the non-local
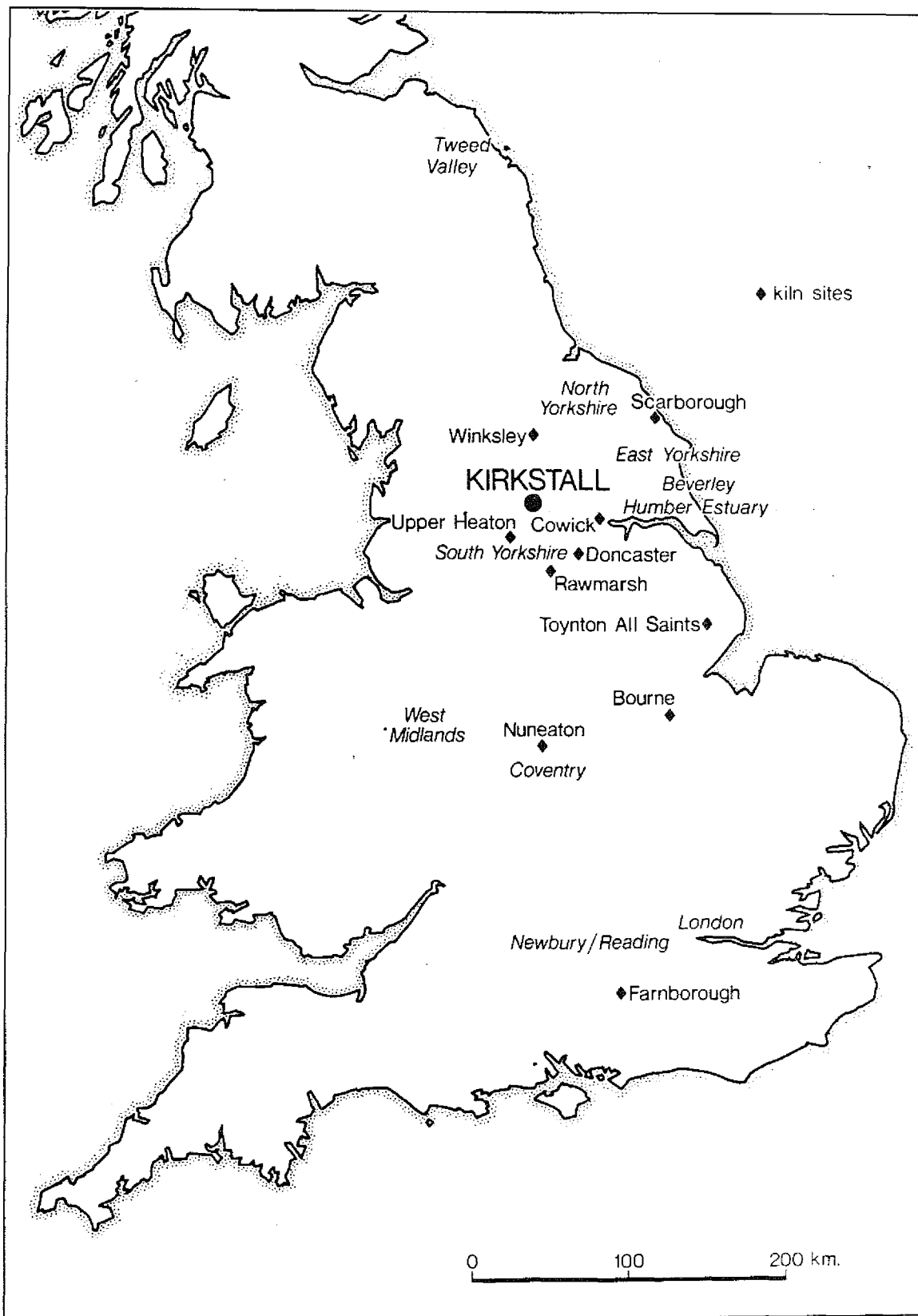
Fig. 10. Identifiable sources of non-local pottery from the Guest House, Kirkstall Abbey (West Yorkshire). Many more non-local vessels still await identification. The abbey estates lay essentially around Leeds, suggesting that most of the non-local pottery may have reached the site through the travelling household of visitors there. It is possible that the abnormally high number of west Midlands vessels may have arrived through Lacy manorial traffic passing along the route from Pontefract to Clitheroe, which crossed the River Aire ½ mile below the abbey (Fig. 2).
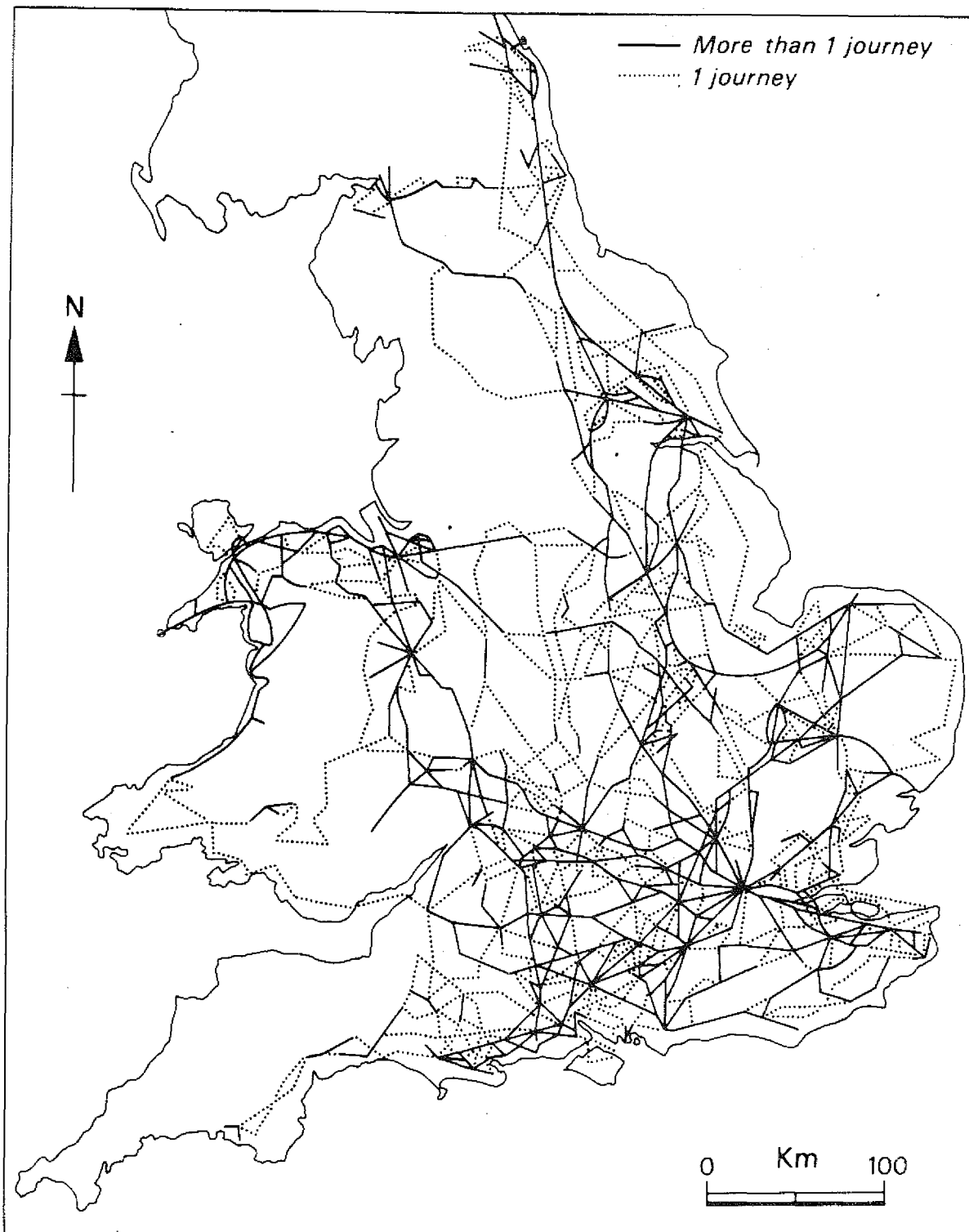
Fig. 11. Itinerary of Edward I throughout his reign (1272-1307).
The map also reflects the condition of the secondary roads of the
period (from Hindle 1982, 200 fig. 7.2a).

vessels, mainly jugs, have been recognised; the vast majority still await identif-
ication. Considering Kirkstall's low status during the Middle Ages, it is surprising
that such a large group of non-local pots have come not only from the Guest House
but across the whole site. In the absence of documentation to record who stayed in
guest houses, the pottery from their excavation can provide a guide to who used them.

Monastic houses may have encouraged the siting of pottery kilns on their estate in
the same way that lay landlords did. Documentary work has shown that the kilns
at Upper Heaton in Kirkheaton township (West Yorkshire) were sited on the Fountain's
Abbey grange estate centred at Bradley (Moorhouse 1981b, 111). The very localised
distribution of Upper Heaton ware in the Huddersfield area may be explained by the
monks encouraging a potter to supply the needs of Fountain's adjacent granges of
Bradley and Ainley, and their other properties in the area.

While monastic estates were run in the same way as their lay counterparts,
additional factors in their organisation, such as granges, and their commercial
dealings (Donkin 1979), created many opportunities for pottery to move around.

Travelling households

Having discussed the many opportunities which a large manorial and monastic
structure might create for pottery movement, the most likely is through the travelling
household. Ecclesiastic, monastic, royal and baronial dignitaries and their often
vast attendant households were contstantly on the move for a variety of reasons.
The wealthier the landlord the larger his household and followers and the greater
his need to be on the move around his estate to off-set the huge costs of feeding not
only the immediate party, but also the retainers and animals. The royal household
was the epitome of the peripatetic entourage. Figure 11 shows the itinerary of
Edward I throughout his reign. While magnates would often frequent their own
estates, the vast Royal household fell on the mercy of his poor subjects to provide
for the King. Ecclesiastics moved round their diocese on business staying at
their palaces or houses scattered throughout their demesne. The diocese of Lincoln
covered a large area of central and southern England and had a number of residences
scattered throughout its territory (Fig. 12) at which the Bishop of Lincoln would
hold court, often staying for a number of months to conclude business (Woodfield
and Woodfield 1981, 2, fig. 1A). The itineraries of bishops and archbishops show
that they were as energetic as the King in their travelling (Hindle 1973, 94-100).
Unlike today when a family goes on holiday they take a few suitcases, in the Middle
Ages virtually the whole contents of a house was moved on horses and carts. For
example, the travelling household of Bogo de Clare in the late 13th century included
a sumpter horse to carry his bed, and two others, each to carry the wardrobe and the
buttery (Giuseppi 1920, 54). The quantity of baggage in a large household was vast.
When Lady Eleanor de Montfort moved from Kenilworth Castle to Dover in 1265 her
belongings required 12 men in charge of 4 carts each drawn by 3 horses (Turner
1841a, 39, 55). Clearly the baggage train of the Royal household and court were
much larger, containing not only personal possessions but also the machinery of
government. The presence of humble earthen pots as containers of supplies amongst
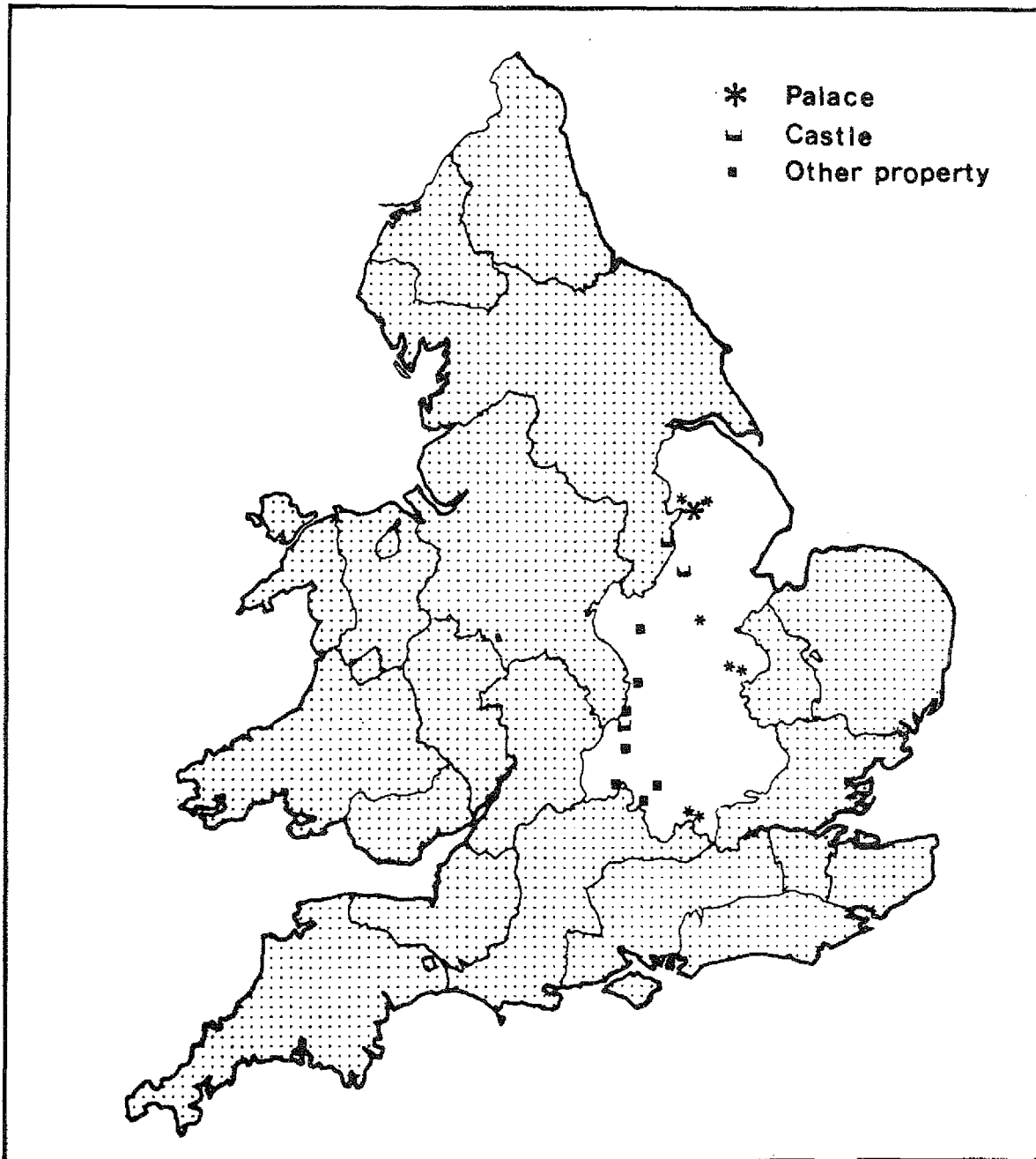such a range of travelling belongings and gear is not difficult to imagine.

Fig. 12. Bishop of Lincoln's manor houses and palaces within the
diocese of Lincoln. Like most senior ecclesiastical officials, the
bishop spent most of his time travelling around his diocese and beyond
(from Woodfield and Woodfield 1981, 2 fig. 1A).

Apart from large bodies of people descending on a household, medieval landowners
were asiduous entertainers. Thomas Earl of Lancaster spent well over a quarter
of his £11,000 income in 1313/14 on food, drink and entertainment (Maddicott 1970,
22-7). Even the most lowly household entertained. The day book accounts of Lady
Alice de Bryene in the early 15th century may be typical of the period (Dale and
Redstone 1931). Centred on Acton in rural southern Suffolk Lady Alice was head of
a small estate. Her stewards accounts from September 1412 to September 1413
show that the number of individual meals prepared each day ranged from the low

20's to nearly 60 with, on many occasions, well over a dozen guests in addition to the permanent household. Many of these guests were from the local gentry and stayed for only one meal, but others came from much further afield with servants and stayed for a number of days (Fig. 13). The further visitors from Norwich, London, Canterbury, Slapton (Devon) and Hereford involved pairs of clerks or members of religious orders with a servant or official. A number of titled people are listed
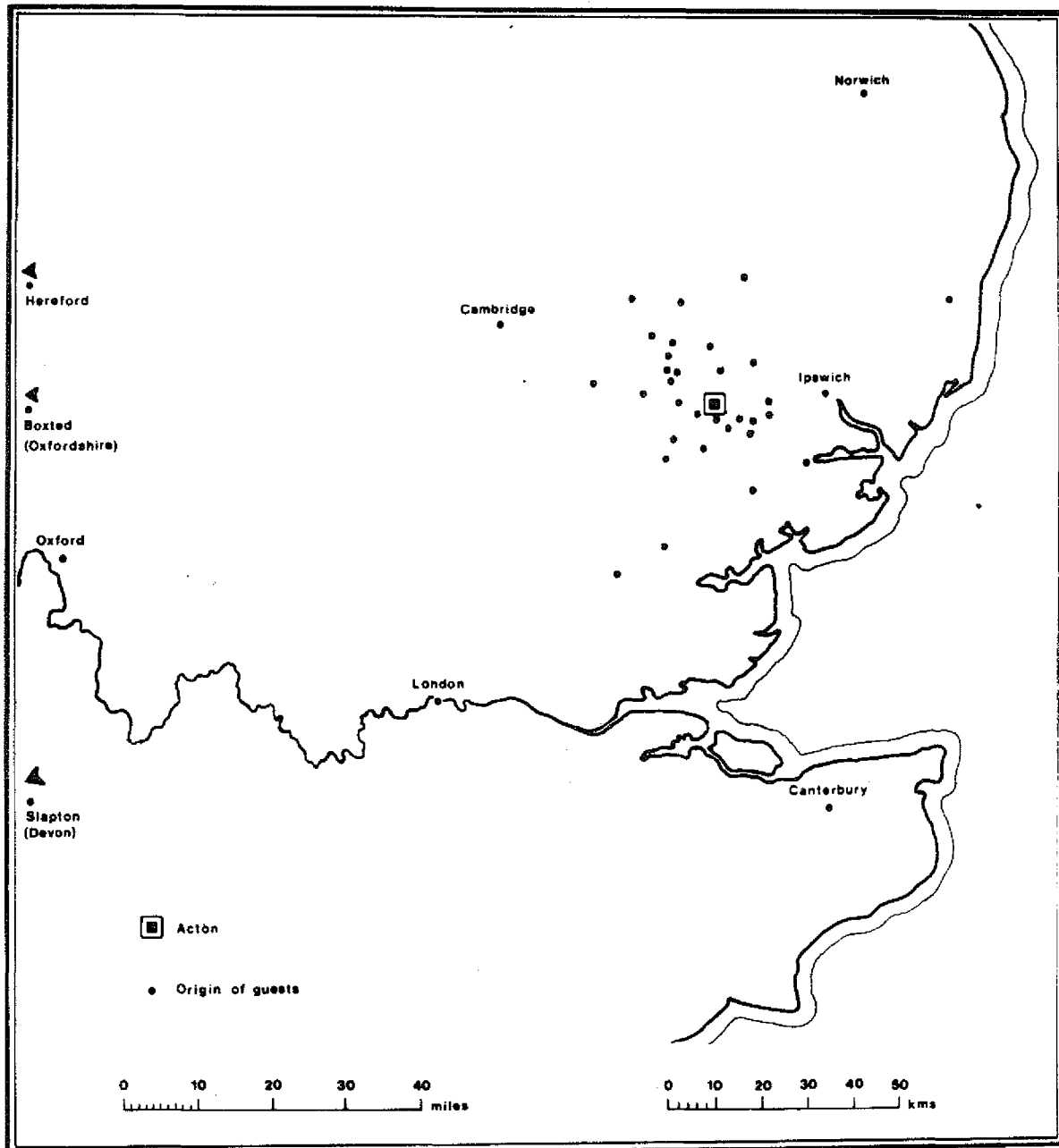

Fig. 13. Guests with a named origin visiting the de Bryene household at Acton (Suffolk) from September 1412 to September 1413. Many guests did not have their origin recorded and while most are likely to be local people, some are known from other sources to have travelled long distances (based on Dale and Redstone 1931, 1-102).

together with their households, but neither the reason for their visit nor their home is recorded. William Brook and two of his household stayed for 6 days in November 1412 (Ibid. 12-14) and in September of the following year the wife of Sir Geoffrey Swimbourne lodged for two days and had in attendance a maidservant, her son, 2 squires, 1 chaplain, 4 yeomen and 2 grooms (Ibid., 95). Evidence from elsewhere has identified the Morgan Gouch who stayed for 4 days with a chaplain and two of his household as a Dorset tenant of the de Breyne family (Ibid., iii, 16-17). Lady Alice's accounts show that even the average seignourial household had a steady flow of visitors passing through its doors and that those travelling from afar may have brought with them pottery as part of their baggage.

So far it has been assumed that pottery formed part of the baggage train and was discarded at the eventual destination. This is probable for vessels which started the journey as containers for sustenance while travelling or had some other use along the route. For example, a urinal from the Reading/Newbury region found at Kirkstall Abbey (West Yorkshire) may have reached the Abbey through a prudish traveller who was only too aware of the condition of contemporary public latrines! Other vessels were probably acquired and discarded during the journey. Private accounts frequently record expenditure on small items purchased while travelling. The advowson of the churches of Embleton, Rock and Ponteland in Northumberland were held by Merton College, Oxford, nearly 300 miles away (Fig. 7). Their accounts record regular visits by the warden throughout the 14th and 15th centuries, itemising the cost of meals, food for the horses, overnight accommodation and other particulars, including one instance where an unspecified number of earthen pots were bought, for what purpose is not stated (Martin 1976; Bateson 1894). Similarly the travelling day accounts for Eleanor, Countess of Leicester, covering seven months in 1265, list eight instances where earthen pots were purchased while travelling in south eastern England, between places as distant as Reading and Dover (Turner 1841a, 16, 43, 51, 53, 76). Such purchases are likely to be ordinary domestic cullinary vessels; indeed the Countess' accounts record all the earthen pots under the expenses of the kitchen. As such they may have been thrown out during the course of the journey.

The changing social and economic climate during the Middle Ages had a profound effect on the scope and even existence of the peripatetic household. The High Middle Ages saw the agragrian economy at its peak with vast estates in demesne and wealthy landlords who could afford to retain large households and travel round. By the end of the Middle Ages the demesne of estates was much reduced, as were estates in general. Far more land was leased out and the economy of estate management had changed, almost eliminating the need to travel around. Estates of all types, whether Royal (Wolfe 1971), monastic or ecclesiastical, went through similar changes but under different influences. It is therefore likely that the greatest effect of the travelling household on pottery movement took place during the later part of the 13th century.

Household supplies

The sources of pottery used by a household or individual would depend on their social status. Although there is no documentary evidence, it seems likely that the relatively

poor masses of the population bought their pottery at the local market either individually or in small batches. The documentary evidence gives a different picture of supply for the seignourial classes and wealthier members of society. They bought direct from the potter in large consignments. Sir John Howard's household accounts for 1466 record 4s. 6d. being paid to the potters at Horkesley (Suffolk) for 11 dozen pots (Turner 1841b, 326). There are many similar examples of direct purchases by those who would require large numbers of pots and could afford to buy in bulk. The Exchequor clearly bought in bulk for Royal visits. Mrs Le Patourel has drawn attention to the 3,000 vessels ordered from Laverstock between 1267 and 1270 for visits of the Royal household to Winchester 20 miles to the east (Le Patourel 1968, 120). Even purchases of pottery for Royal building works were made in bulk from a pottery some distance from where the pots were to be used. In 1391 229 'pots for the stewes' for the Royal bath suite at Windsor Castle were bought from Farnborough nearly 20 miles away to the south across difficult country when a major centre at Maidenhead lay 5 miles along the river Thames (Salzman 1967, 276). Direct contact with the potter and preference for centres some distance away by baronial, monastic and Royal households may distort the distribution pattern of pottery.

While there is little direct evidence, it cannot be assumed that a household always used the same pottery for all their supplies. The mention of purchases of pottery seems to vary in importance between types of accounts and between households, and it is certain that far more pottery went unrecorded than was recorded. Other evidence shows that households used a variety of sources for their household supplies. The purchases of tiles for roofs are particularly interesting. For the repair of the hall roof at Banstead (Surrey) in 1372/3 tiles from three different sources were bought (Moorhouse 1981b, 109, fig. 89). Even a lesser gentry household used a number of sources to obtain their domestic supplies. Figure 14 shows the places specifically mentioned as the source of supplies in the accounts of Lady Alice de Breyne, of Acton in southern Suffolk, for 1418-19 (Dale and Redstone 1931, 116-39). The map shows the failure inherent in plotting such information: the map only shows places where the steward or scribe happened to mention them; frequently in accounts no source is given. It is certain that many more local and perhaps some more distance were used for supplies for Acton. More might be learnt about household pottery supplies by looking at the distribution of named sources of supplies in other accounts for households of different social classes. In long runs of accounts changing patterns of supply/catchment areas might be identified. Significantly, the expenditure at Acton for the year came to just over £170, of which Lady Alice accounted for about £110, most of it in London. Even the various spices were bought at different places. The excavation of manor houses has shown a variety of pottery types used during the later Middle Ages. This almost certainly reflects the diversity in contemporary suppliers as seen in the different places used to buy in other household goods as revealed in the documents. While the pottery suppliers probably remained constant over a number of years, the occasional pot or even batch could have been picked up at any of the places used to stock the household. Considering the number of households from all parts of the country who had frequent contact with London, it is surprising that pottery types common in the capital are not found in the provinces.
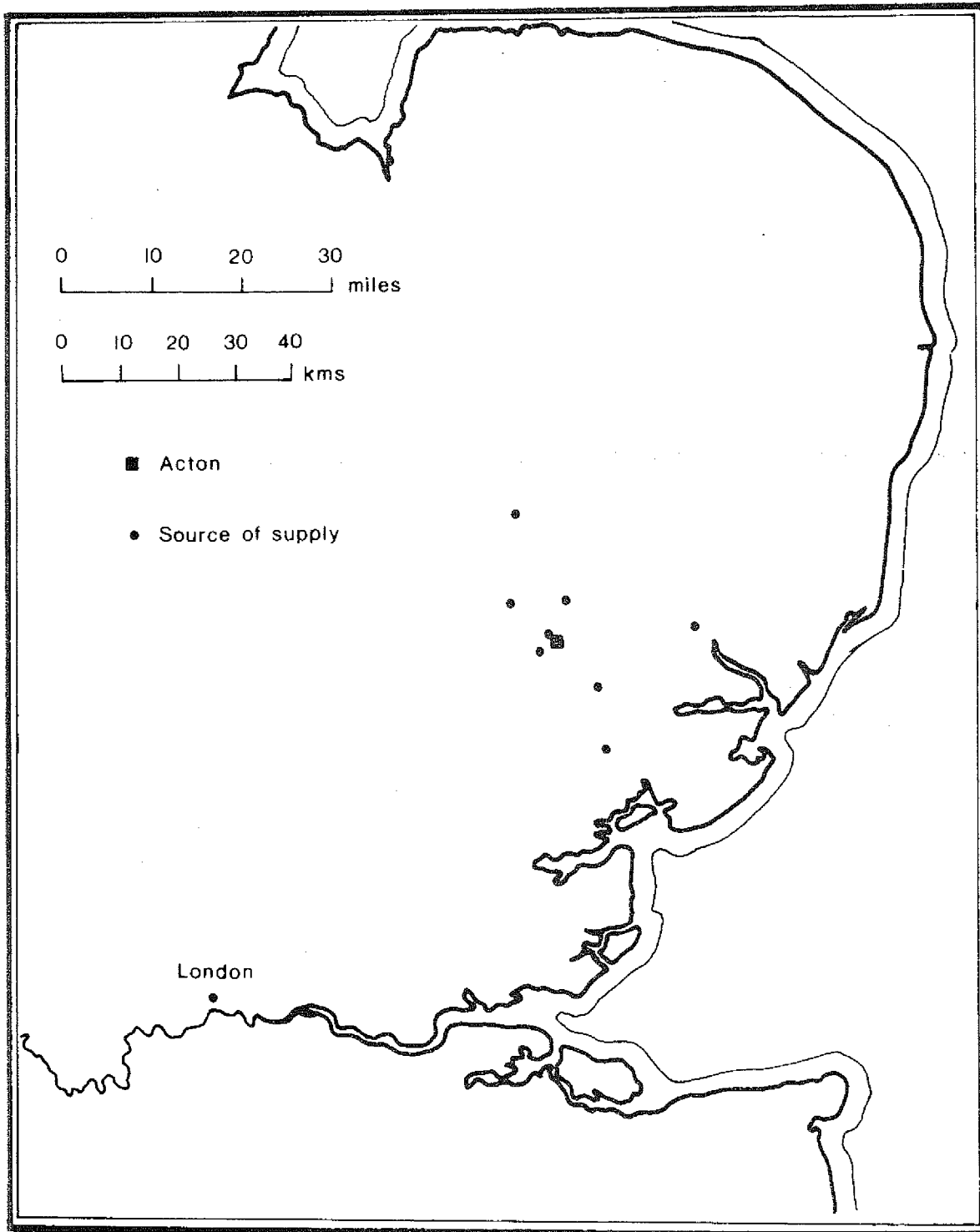
Fig. 14. Named sources for household supplies at Acton (Suffolk)
from September 1418 to September 1419. The de Bryene's were a
lowly gentry household. The map is probably over simplified in that
only those sources of supplies which are recorded can be plotted
(based on Dale and Redstone 1931, 116-39).

Movement as containers

Medieval pots were used as static containers for a wide range of items, in and around the house and farm and by professional people and craftsmen (Moorhouse 1978; 1981, 114-19). They were also used as a vehicle for moving supplies. Mention has already been made of pots moving around by travellers of all types, particularly as part of the baggage of itinerant households.

They appear to have acted as containers at markets and fairs used to carry home liquids which were bought there. The 1450/1 accounts of St Radegund's Priory, Cambridge, record the purchase of $1\frac{1}{2}$ gallons of rape oil 'with an earthen pot to put it in' from King's Lynn, over 10 miles from Cambridge (Gray 1898, 166). Similarly, the cellararer's accounts of 1415/16 at Bromholm Priory (Norfolk) record under the expenses of the kitchen the cost of two stoneware pots to contain oil which had been bought from Martin Spycer of Yarmouth, over 20 miles along the Norfolk coast (Redstone 1944, 85). The documents suggest that earthen pots were used at medieval markets and fairs in the same way, and with the same frequency as we use paper bags to put things in when shopping today. However, it is highly unlikely that we will ever be able to identify such a vessel on a site. Earthen pots also served as receptacles for moving a wide range of craft materials. In 1356 four earthen pots were bought, along with two wickerwork containers to carry them, to move oil from London to Windsor Castle for the painters (Salzman 1967, 158).

Some commodities created their own influence on pottery distribution. Oil is one of the best documented (Moorhouse 1981b, 115). It was used extensively in the preparation of food, as an ingredient in receipes, used as a base for colouring agents and, its widest use, as the principal fuel for domestic and ecclesiastical lighting. Contemporary encycleaopedias advise that oil is best kept in earthenware containers. As we have seen, oil was certainly transported from market to home in earthen vessels. It also seems to have been moved from household to household in them. When Sir John Paston II wrote to his brother on 30th April 1472, he includes a reference to two pots of oil 'for salads (saladys)' which he was sending separately by a carrier, with a comment 'which oil was [as] good as might be when I delivered it and shall be [as] good at the receiving, if it be not miss-handled nor miss-carried' (Davis 1971, 448, no. 268, line 16-19). Neither the origin nor destination of the oil is given but it probably started its journey from London and ended up at one of the Paston's Norfolk manor houses.

Even the medical profession may have contributed to pottery movement. Spicer-apothecaries not only plied their wares at local markets and fairs, but they accompanied dignitaries on their travels and military campaigns (Gask 1922; 1925; Trease 1959). As recipes advise that certain prescriptions be stored in earthen pots (Power 1910, 69 line 23, p. 89 lines 17-18, p. 94 lines 16-20; Fleischlacker 1894, 191) and occasionally more specifically in glazed earthen pots (Dawson 1934, 82, no. 216; Ogden 1971, 610 line 22), it is possible that customers took home their wonder cures in small pottery vessels supplied by the apothecary.

Some commodities were sold ready packed in earthen pots in the same way that we buy jam in glass jars today. The best documented is green-ginger. It is often described in the documents as being contained in 'pots of Genoa', a description which comes from the Genoese merchants who imported Spanish albarellos to contain the green ginger and then export them to northern Europe (Moorhouse 1981b, 120 note 9). The pots appear to have come into this country principally through London and Southampton. The 1439 Brokage book of Southampton records that on 13th November John Cole, a carter, took 1 little mawnde of 'painted Genoa pots' to Salisbury (Bunyard 1941, 56). They were also sold by a wide range of middle-men merchants. The shop inventory of Thomas Gryssup, a York chapman who died in 1446, lists a total of 12 pots 'for green ginger' (Raine 1865, 103), while the contents of a London apothecary's shop in 1470/1 included unspecified 'pots from Genoa' (Thrupp 1933, 185). Late medieval accounts and private letters show that they were bought in London and travelled to all parts of the country by private carrier (Moorhouse 1981b, 110). It is significant that, towards the end of the Middle Ages the London Grocer's and Mercer's companies forbid their members to sell their wares at provincial fairs and markets in an attempt to boost London's position as the principal commercial commodity market, a role which it certainly held in the later Middle Ages (Thrupp 1933, 273-6), when the trade in green ginger appears to have been at its peak. Exotic pottery, imported in its own right or incidentally as a container, reached a limited class of society (until the later Middle Ages), but were also subject to different patterns of distribution than the locally produced pottery.

The letter from Sir John Paston II mentioned above introduced a further means of pottery movement, for the two pots of oil were despatched by a professional carrier. The larger operators travelled long distances and organised their journeys in the same way as modern haulage contractors by off-loading and picking up new goods on route. The majority were local haulers, perhaps typified by John Darnell and John Boys, two carters at the Laths in Norwich, whose unique accounts have survived for the period 1417-19 (Tingey 1904). While horses were used for light or small items the bulk of goods travelling by land moved on the cart (Willard 1926; 1932). The importance of carts to the medieval economy is best seen in manorial accounts where the often lengthy item of expenditure incurred on repairing them is given its own section. Their importance in moving pottery is reflected in many ways, from the cartful of pots frequently being the unit of tax assessment when entering a market to Robin Hood waylaying the potter at Wentbridge (West Yorkshire) and travelling nearly 60 miles to Nottingham in his cart (Moorhouse 1978, 16). Mrs Le Patourel has also drawn attention to the potter moving his wares around by the tubful (Le Patourel 1968, 119). Wickerwork carries slung either side of a horse's back were also used (see p. 75 above). Potters or middle-men travelling around the countryside hawking their wares seem to have been a common sight in the countryside, for such a person forms a disguise for heroes in at least three well-known folk stories, the earliest, Hereward the Wake entering William I's camp on the Isle of Ely, dating from the late 11th century (Moorhouse 1978, 16). While no documentary evidence has been found to show that consignments of pots were made up on the kiln site and not unpacked until the customer received it, archaeological evidence suggests that this did take place. Many sites have produced vessels which were not saleable or usable. These are likely to have been fillers in a container

of pots. The evidence is more poignant from Sandal Castle (West Yorkshire) where a distinctive ring prop peculiar to the Farnham region of northern Surrey was found. It probably reached the site in a consignment of kiln-packed Tudor Green, of which 19 vessels were represented on site (Moorhouse 1979b, 55-6). Such pre-packed loads may be indicated by the 'packs' of pots which Mrs Le Patourel has noted in the documents (Le Patourel 1968, 119). However commercial pottery did travel it was well packed for its journey. The delicate vessels of the Tudor Green range are found all over the British Isles, having been distributed from their source in the Farnham/Farnborough area of northern Surrey (Moorhouse 1979b). While documents may be able to suggest an infinite number of influences that caused pottery to travel it is only its archaeological distribution that will reveal the potter's ability to market his wares.

Other travellers

The roads and waterways of medieval England were full of many different kinds of traveller (Jusserand 1920; Labarge 1983). Some of the more obvious people who might have moved pottery around have already been mentioned. A great many more were potential carriers. Two extreme examples will suffice. Long periods of the Middle Ages were given over to inter-dynastic or civil wars, where kings, barons and their armies and supply teams moved the length and breadth of the British Isles. The campaigns of William I in 1068-70 (Beeler 1966, 45 map 3) and the movements of King John between September 1215 and March 1216 (Warren 1961, 271, fig. ix) are typical of the great distances covered; although beyond the scope of this paper, the archaeology of battle camp sites would provide a wide range of very accurately dated artifacts. In stark contrast there is the journey taken around Wales by Archdeacon Geraldus Cambriensis and Baldwin, Archbishop of Canterbury, in 1188, to raise funds for the Third Crusade. The journey is recorded in great detail in Gerald's Journey through Wales (Thorpe 1978, 63-209).

Some unique events almost certainly did provide channels for pottery movement. The construction of the Welsh castles for Edward I in the late 13th century followed the subduing of Gwynedd and the defeat of Prince Llewellyn. The very substantial work-force for their construction was provided through levies made on many of the English counties to supply specified numbers of certain types of workmen, including large quantities of supplies, provisions, and materials (Taylor 1961). For North Wales centralisation took place at Chester, from where men and supplies were despatched to the appropriate building site (Fig. 15). Material from four of the castles includes vessels from various parts of England: a Brill-type vessel has come from Rhuddlan; a jug from the Bristol region from Beaumaris on Anglesey; pottery from the central and northern Marches and southern Staffordshire from Conway; while all three sites, in addition to Dyserth, have produced material from the Chester region (Davey 1975, 8-9, 29, 34-40; inf. from P. Davey). English soldiers and officers garrisoned the castles. Whether from the construction of the castles or from their occupation, it is likely that most of the pottery reached Wales through the Edwardian military presence.
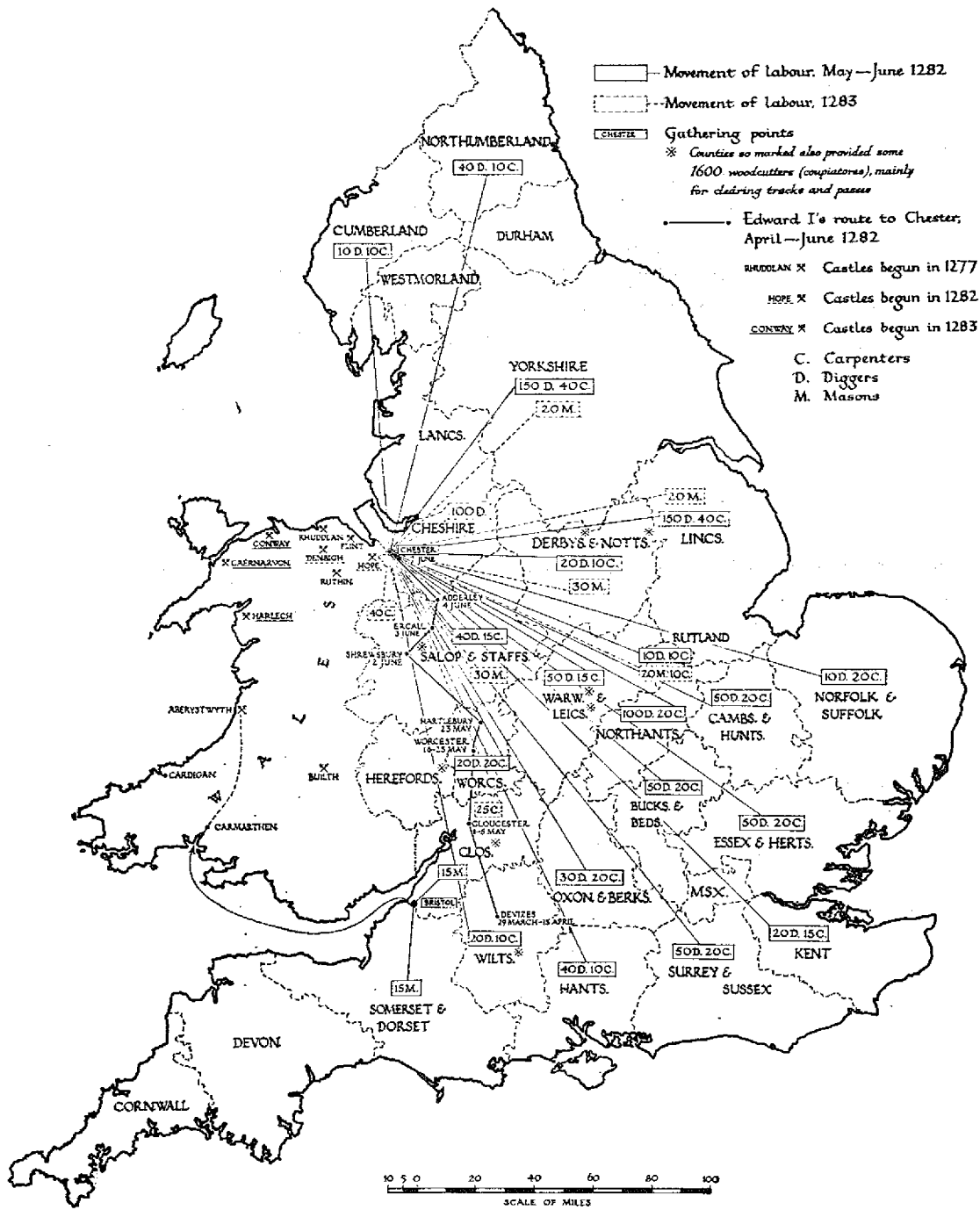
Fig. 15. Sources of labour and supplies for work on the Edwardian Welsh castles, 1282-3. English pottery from four of the sites probably owes its presence there to English workmen, provisions or garrisons (from Taylor 1961, 111).

Changing patterns

So far the effect of various institutions and organisations on the movement of pottery have been considered. Stress has been placed on the changing role of the influences

throughout the middle ages; what was causing the economy to develop in 1300 was certainly not true a century later, and neither were its effects. The changing economy was closely linked with the changes in the structure of society. These two factors are seen nowhere better than in the later Middle Ages. The pottery goes through a sudden and remarkable change in many regions of the country during the period 1350-1450 and mostly around 1400 (Moorhouse 1979b, 57-8). The impetus for this change was almost certainly social demand, a process which has recently been summarised by Dr Dyer (Dyer 1982b). Completely new forms were introduced in different fabrics, glazes, decoration and potting techniques, supplying areas which were often totally different from earlier types in the region. This pre-supposes different marketing patterns and customers. This renaissance in a craft industry is not likely to have left its mark on the documentation, although Mrs Le Patourel has noted a change in the structure of the pottery industry during this period (Le Patourel 1968, 110-11). What the documents can offer are causes for these effects.

Conclusion

What can documents tell us about the inland movement of medieval pottery? The answer is a great deal, if caution is aired over the content of the documents. Individual references can often be of little value, but when brought together they can provide a great deal of food for thought. They are important, perhaps, not for what they tell us but for what they do not. Their greatest value is in suggesting many avenues along which pottery might travel and why. As Professor Harvey, and others, have pointed out, the understanding of history in the widest sense cannot be achieved by using the resources of one specialised subject (Harvey 1983). The key to understanding the significance of pottery distributions must come from a close working relationship between archaeologists and historians. Only some of the more obvious, and a few of the more bizarre influences on pottery movement have been mentioned. Compared with those which existed is like contrasting the part of an iceberg which appears above the waterline with that which lies below. An important point to bear in mind is that most of the influences discussed above are likely to generate the movement of no more than a few vessels, often the single example used as a container. What the documents do suggest is that while the undocumented mass of the population, the 'peasants', probably obtained their pots at the local market in small numbers, the various landlord classes had a much greater variety of options open to them, not only as to how they obtained the pots initially, and the quantity purchased, but as to how they were moved around when in use. The documents are also open to many different interpretations. Many of the points discussed above are expressed without stressing the numerous reservations behind them. What the documentary evidence does is to open our eyes to the many and varied ways in which pottery travelled around. As such it provides a cautious backcloth for interpreting and trying to understand pottery distributions.

ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS

REFERENCES

Allan, J.P., 1984. <u>Medieval and post-medieval finds from Exeter, 1971-1980</u>
Exeter Archaeological Reports 3 (Exeter).

Bateson, E., 1984. 'Notes on a journey from Oxford to Embleton and back in 1464',
<u>Archaeol Aeliana</u>, new ser 16, pp. 113-20.

Beeler, J., 1966. <u>Warfare in England, 1066-1189</u> (New York).

Bennett, H.S., 1937. <u>Life on the English manor</u> (Cambridge).

Berry, E.K., 1955. 'The borough of Droitwich and its salt industry' (unpubl
MA dissertation, University of Birmingham).

Berry, E.K., 1958. 'The borough of Droitwich and its salt industry, 1215-1700',
<u>Univ Birmingham Hist J</u>, 6, pp. 39-61.

Berry, E.K. 1975. 'Medieval Droitwich and the salt trade', in K.W. de Brisay and
K.A. Evans (ed.), <u>Salt: the study of an ancient industry</u> (Colchester),
pp. 76-80.

Bland, D.S., 1957. 'The maintenance of roads in medieval England', <u>Plann Outlook</u>,
4, no. 2, pp. 5-15.

Bond, C.J., 1979. 'The reconstruction of the medieval landscape: the estates of
Abingdon Abbey', <u>Landscape Hist</u>, 1, pp. 59-75.

Bridbury, A.R., 1955. <u>England and the salt trade in the later Middle Ages</u> (Oxford).

Bridbury, A.R., 1981. 'English provincial towns in the later Middle Ages', <u>Econ Hist
Rev</u>, 2nd ser 34, pp. 1-24.

Britnell, R.H., 1978. 'English markets and royal administration before 1200',
<u>Econ Hist Rev</u>, 2nd ser 31, pp. 183-96.

Britnell, R.H., 1981. 'The proliferation of markets in England 1200-1349',
<u>Econ Hist Rev</u>, 2nd ser 34, pp. 209-21.

Brown, W. (ed.), 1907. <u>The register of William Wickwane, Lord Archbishop of York,
1279-1285</u>, Publ Surtees Soc , 114.

Bunyard, B.D.M. (ed.), 1941. <u>The Brokage Book of Southampton: vol. 1 1439-1440</u>
Southampton Rec Ser (Southampton).

Carus-Wilson, E.M., 1962-3. 'The medieval trade of the ports of the Wash',
<u>Medieval Archaeol</u> , 6-7, pp. 182-201.

Carus-Wilson, E.M., 1965. 'The first half-century of the borough of Stratford upon
Avon', <u>Econ Hist Rev</u> , 2nd ser 18, pp. 46-63.

Carus-Wilson, E.M., 1967. 'The overseas trade of Bristol', in E.M. Carus-Wilson, Medieval merchant venturers, 2nd ed., pp. 1-97; reprinted from Power and Postan 1933, pp. 183-246.

Clay, C.T. (ed.), 1924. Yorkshire deeds, vol. 4, Yorkshire Archaeol Soc Rec Ser 65.

Clay, C.T. (ed.), 1949. Early Yorkshire charters, vol. 8: the honour of Warenne, Yorkshire Archaeol Soc Rec Ser Extra Ser , 5.

Clay, C.T., 1960. ¦Some medieval Lincolnshire and Yorkshire connections', Lincolnshire Hist, 2 no. 7, pp. 1-15.

Clay, C.T., 1975. Notes on the family of Clere, with a bibliography of his [Sir Charles Clay] writings: presented to the author for his ninetieth birthday in friendship and appreciation, privately printed.

Coates, B.E., 1965. 'The origin and distribution of markets and fairs in medieval Derbyshire', Derbyshire Archaeol J, 85, pp. 92-111.

Crump, W.B., 1939. 'Saltways from the Cheshire wiches', Trans Lancashire Cheshire Antiq Soc , 54, pp. 84-142.

Dale, M.K. (trans), and Redstone, V.B. (ed.), 1931. The household book for Dame Alice de Breyne, of Acton Hall, Suffolk, Sept. 1412-Sept. 1413, Suffolk Inst Archaeol Natur Hist

Dawson, W.R. (ed.), 1934. A leechbook or collection of medical recipes of the fifteenth century, by Archippus (pseud) (London).

Davey, P.J. (ed.), 1975. Medieval pottery from excavations in the north-west (Liverpool).

Davis, N. (ed.), 1971. Paston letters and papers of the fifteenth century: vol. 1 (Oxford).

De Windt, E.B., 1972. Land and people in Holywell-cum-Needingworth: structures of tenure and patterns of social organisation in an East Midland village, 1252-1457, Studies and Texts 22 (Toronto).

Dickens, B., 1938. 'Premonstratensian itineraries from a Titchfield Abbey Ms at Welbeck (classified I A 1)', Proc Leeds Philos Soc , 4, pp. 349-61.

Donkin, R.A., 1959. 'The urban property of the Cistercians in medieval England', Analecta S.O. Cisterciensis, 15, pp. 104-31.

Donkin, R.A., 1964. 'The Cistercian grange in England in the 12th and 13th centuries, with special reference to Yorkshire', Studia Monastica, 6, pp. 95-144.

Donkin, R.A., 1973. 'Changes in the early Middle Ages', in H.C. Darby (ed.),
A new historical geography of England (Cambridge), pp. 75-135.

Donkin, R.A., 1979. The Cistercians: studies in the geography of medieval England
and Wales, Studies and Texts 38 (Toronto).

Dyer, A.D., 1973. The city of Worcester in the sixteenth century (Leicester).

Dyer, C., 1982a. 'Deserted medieval villages in the western Midlands', Econ Hist
Rev , 2nd ser 35, pp. 19-34.

Dyer, C., 1982b. 'The social and economic changes of the later Middle Ages and
the pottery of the period', Medieval Ceramics, 6, pp. 33-42.

Faull, M.L., and Moorhouse, S. (ed.), 1981. West Yorkshire: an archaeological
survey up to A.D. 1500 (Wakefield), 3 vols., 1 map folder.

Fleischhakker, R. (ed.), 1894. Lanfrank's science of cirurgie, Early Engl Text Soc ,
orig ser 102.

Gask, G.E., 1922. 'The medical services of Henry V's campaign of the Somme in
1415', Proc Roy Soc Medicine, 16, pp. 1-10.

Gask, G.E., 1925. 'The medical staff of Edward III', Proc Roy Soc Medicine, 19
pp. 1-16.

Gilyard-Beer, R., 1976. Abbeys: an illustrated guide to the abbeys of England and
Wales, An Illustrated Guide to Ancient Monuments (DoE) 7 (London).

Giuseppi, M.S., 1920. 'Wardrobe and household of Bogo de Clare', Archaeol, 1-56.

Gooder, A., and Gooder, E., 1981. 'Coventry before 1355. Unity or division?'
Midland Hist, 6, pp. 1-38.

Gould, J., 1972. 'The medieval burgesses of Tamworth: their liberties, courts
and markets', Trans South Staffordshire Archaeol Hist Soc , 13,
pp. 17-42.

Gray, A. (ed.), 1898. The priory of St Radegund, Cambridge, Cambridge Antiq Soc

Harvey, P.D.A., 1965. A medieval Oxfordshire village: Cuxham 1240 to 1400,
Oxford Hist Ser (Oxford).

Harvey, P.D.A., 1976. Manorial records of Cuxham, Oxfordshire, c. 1200-1359,
Oxford Rec Soc , 50; joint publ with Hist MSS Comm, 23.

Harvey, P.D.A., 1983. 'English archaeology after the Conquest: a historians view',
in D.A. Hinton (ed.), 25 years of Medieval Archaeology (Sheffield),
pp. 74-82.

Hatcher, J., 1977. Plague, population and the English economy, 1348-1530 (London).

Hindle, B.P., 1973. 'A geographical synthesis of the road network of medieval England and Wales'(unpubl PhD dissertation, Salford Univ).

Hindle, P.B., 1976. 'The road network of medieval England and Wales', J Hist Geogr. 2, pp. 207-17.

Hindle, B.P., 1978. 'Seasonal variations in travel in medieval England', J Transp Hist, new ser 4, pp. 170-8.

Hindle, B.P., 1980. 'The towns and roads of the Gough map (c. 1360)', Manchester Geogr, 1, 35-49.

Hindle, B.P., 1982. 'Roads and tracks', in L. Cantor (ed.), The English medieval landscape (London), pp. 193-217.

Holmes, G.C., 1940. English villagers of the thirteenth century (New York).

Holt, J.C., 1983. Robin Hood (London).

Jope, E.M., 1952. 'Medieval pottery', in H.E. O'Neil, 'Whittington Court Roman villa, Whittington, Gloucestershire', Trans Bristol Gloucestershire Archaeol Soc , 71, pp. 61-76.

Jusserand, J.J., 1920. English wayfaring life in the Middle Ages, 2nd ed. (London).

Kershaw, I., 1973. Bolton Priory: the economy of a northern monastery 1286-1325, Oxford Hist Ser (Oxford).

Labarge, M.W., 1983. Medieval travellers: the rich and the restless (London).

Lancaster, W.T. (ed.), 1915. Abstracts of the charters and other documents contained in the chartulary of the Cistercian abbey of Fountain's..., 2 vols.

Lancaster, J., 1975. 'Coventry', in M.D. Lobel (ed.), The atlas of historic towns: vol. 2, Bristol, Cambridge, Coventry, Norwich (London).

Lancaster, W.T., and Baildon, W.P. (ed.), 1904. The coucher book of the Cistercian abbey of Kirkstall, Publ Thoresby Soc , 8.

Langton, J., 1975. 'Residential patterns in pre-industrial cities: some case studies from seventeenth-century Britain', J Inst Brit Geogr., 65, pp. 1-27.

Lennard, R., 1938. 'Manorial traffic and agricultural trade in medieval England', J Proc Agric Econ Soc , 5, pp. 259-77.

Le Patourel, H.E.J., 1968. 'Documentary evidence and the medieval pottery industry', Medieval Archaeol , 12, pp. 101-26.

Lyons, P.A. (ed. and trans.), 1884. Two 'compoti' of the Lancashire and Cheshire manors of Henry de Lacy, Earl of Lincoln, 24 and 33 Edw. I. , Chetham Soc, 102.

Madicott, J.R., 1970. Thomas of Lancaster, 1307-1322: a study of the reign of Edward II (London),

Martin, G.H., 1976. 'Road travel in the Middle Ages: some journeys by the warden and fellows of Merton College, Oxford, 1315-1470', J Transp Hist, new ser , 3: pp. 159-78.

Mastoris, S.N., 1981. 'The boundary between the English and French boroughs of medieval Nottingham', Trans Thoroton Soc , 85, pp. 68-74.

May, P., 1981. 'Newmarket and its market court, 1399-1413', Proc Suffolk Inst Archaeol , 35, pp. 31-40.

Mellows, W.T. (ed.), 1954. The book of William Morton, almoner of Peterborough monastery, 1448-1467, Northamptonshire Rec Soc , 16.

Mitchell, J.B., 'The Mathew Paris maps', Geog J, 81, pp. 27-34.

Mitchelmore, D.J.H., 1981a. 'Township gazateer', in Faull and Moorhouse 1981, pp. 290-579.

Mitchelmore, D.J.H., 1981b. The Fountains Abbey lease book, Yorkshire Archaeol Soc Rec Ser , 140.

Moorhouse, S., 1978. 'Documentary evidence for the uses of medieval pottery: an interim statement', Medieval Ceramics, 2, pp. 3-22.

Moorhouse, S., 1979a. 'Documentary evidence for the landscape of the manor of Wakefield during the Middle Ages', Landscape Hist , 1, pp. 44-58.

Moorhouse, S., 1979b. 'Tudor Green: some further thoughts', Medieval Ceramics, 3, 53-62.

Moorhouse, S., 1981a. 'The rural medieval landscape', in Faull and Moorhouse 1981, pp. 581-850.

Moorhouse, S., 1981b. 'The medieval pottery industry and its markets', in D.W. Crossley (ed.), Medieval industries, Counc Brit Archaeol Res Rep 40, pp. 96-125.

Moorhouse, S., 1983a. 'The medieval pottery', in D. Williams, Excavations at Gargrave (1977-1981), Craven Dist Counc Occas Publ (Skipton), pp. 33-48.

Moorhouse, S., 1983b. 'The medieval pottery', in P. Mayes and L.A.S. Butler, Sandal Castle excavations 1964-1973 (Wakefield), pp. 83-212.

Ogden, M. (ed.), 1971. The Cyrurgie of Guy de Chaulic, Early English Text Soc , orig ser , 265.

Ogle, O., 1890. 'The Oxford market', Collectania II, Oxford Hist Soc , 16, pp. 1-135.

Pelham, R.A., 1933. 'The Gough Map', Geogr J ,81, pp. 34-39.

Pelham, R.A., 1936. 'Fourteenth-century England', in H.C. Darby (ed.),
An historical geography of England before A.D. 1800 (London), pp. 230-65.

Platt, C., 1976. The English medieval town (London).

Pool, H., and Gilson, J.P., 1928. Four maps of Great Britain designed by Matthew
Paris about A.D. 1250 (London).

Power, D. (ed.), 1910. 'Treatises of fistulo in ano, haemorrhoids and clysters' by
John Arderne, Early English Text Soc , orig ser 139.

Power, E., and Postan, M.M., (ed.), 1933. Studies in English trade in the fifteenth
century (London).

Price, M.J.S. (ed.), 1955. Yorkshire deeds: vol. 10, Yorkshire Archaeol Soc Rec
Ser. 120.

Raine, J. (ed.), 1865. Testementa eboracensia: a selection of wills from the registry
at York: III, Publ Sertees Soc , 45.

Redstone, L.J., 1944. 'The cellarer's account for Bromholm Priory, Norfolk,
1415/16', Norfolk Rec Ser , 17, pp. 47-91.

Raftis, J.A., 1965. 'Social structure of five east Midland villages: a study of
possibilities in the use of court roll data', Econ Hist Rev , 2nd ser. 18,
pp. 83-100.

Raftis, J.A., 1974. Warboys: two hundred years in the life of an English medieval
village, Studies and Texts 29 (Toronto).

Raftis, J.A., 1982. A small town in late medieval England: Godmanchester, 1278-1400,
Studies and Texts 53 (Toronto).

Reynolds, S., 1977. An introduction to the history of English medieval towns (Oxford).

Salzman, L.F., 1923. English industries of the Middle Ages (Oxford).

Salzman, L.F., 1931. English trade in the Middle Ages (Oxford).

Salzman, L.F., 1967. Building in England down to 1540, 2nd ed. (London).

Stenton, F.M., 1936. 'The road system of medieval England', Econ Hist Rev , 7 .
(1936), pp. 1-21.

Taylor, A.J., 1961. 'Castle building in Wales in the later thirteenth century: the
prelude to construction', in E.M. Jope (ed.), Studies in building history:
essays in recognition of the work of B.H. St J. O'Neil (London), pp. 104-33.

Taylor, C.C., 1979. Roads and tracks of Britain (London).

Taylor, C.C., 1983. Village and farmstead (London).

Thornes, R.C.N., 1981. West Yorkshire: 'A Noble Scene of Industry', the development of the county 1500-1850 (Wakefield).

Thorpe, L. (ed.), 1978. Gerald of Wales: the journey through Wales and the description of Wales (London).

Thrupp, S., 1933. 'The Grocers of London, a study of distributive trade', in Power and Postan 1933, pp. 247-92.

Tingey, J.C., 1904. 'The journals of John Dernell and John Boys, carters at the Lathes in Norwich', Norfolk Archaeol , 15, pp. 114-63.

Trease, G.E., 1959. 'The spicers and apothecaries of the royal household in the reigns of Henry II, Edward I and Edward II', Nottingham Medieval Stud, 3, pp. 19-52.

Turner, T.H., 1841a. 'Household roll of Eleanor, Countess of Leicester, A.D. 1265', in T.H. Turner (ed.), Manners and household expences in England in the thirteenth and fifteenth centuries, Roxburgh Club, pp. 3-85.

Turner, T.H., 1841b. 'Accounts and memoranda of Sir John Howard, first Duke of Norfolk, A.D. 1462 to A.D. 1471, in ibid., pp. 149-621.

Warren, W.L., 1961. King John (London).

Wightman, W.E., 1966. The Lacy family in England and Normandy: 1066-1194 (Oxford).

Willard, J.F., 1926. 'Inland transportation in England during the fourteenth century', Speculum, 1, pp. 361-74.

Willard, J.F., 1932. 'The use of carts in the fourteenth century', History, 17, pp. 246-50.

Wolfe, B.P., 1971. The royal demesne in English history: the Crown estate in the governance of the realm from the Conquest to 1509 (London).

Woodfield, C., and Woodfield, P.W., 1981. 'The palace of the Bishop's of Lincoln at Lyddington', Trans Leicestershire Archaeol Hist Soc , 57, pp. 1-16.